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Editor's Note



movement, and the signs of its development in each individual country.

This collection of facts we now present to all interested in women's mission and work in the world, in the hope that it will help to form right judgment and wise action.

The Editor must appeal for indulgence from both contributors and readers for many short-

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and strengthen the world over the inspiring memories of July, 1899.



WOMAN'S ARCHIVES

Gift of

Dr. Julie Braun-Vogelstein

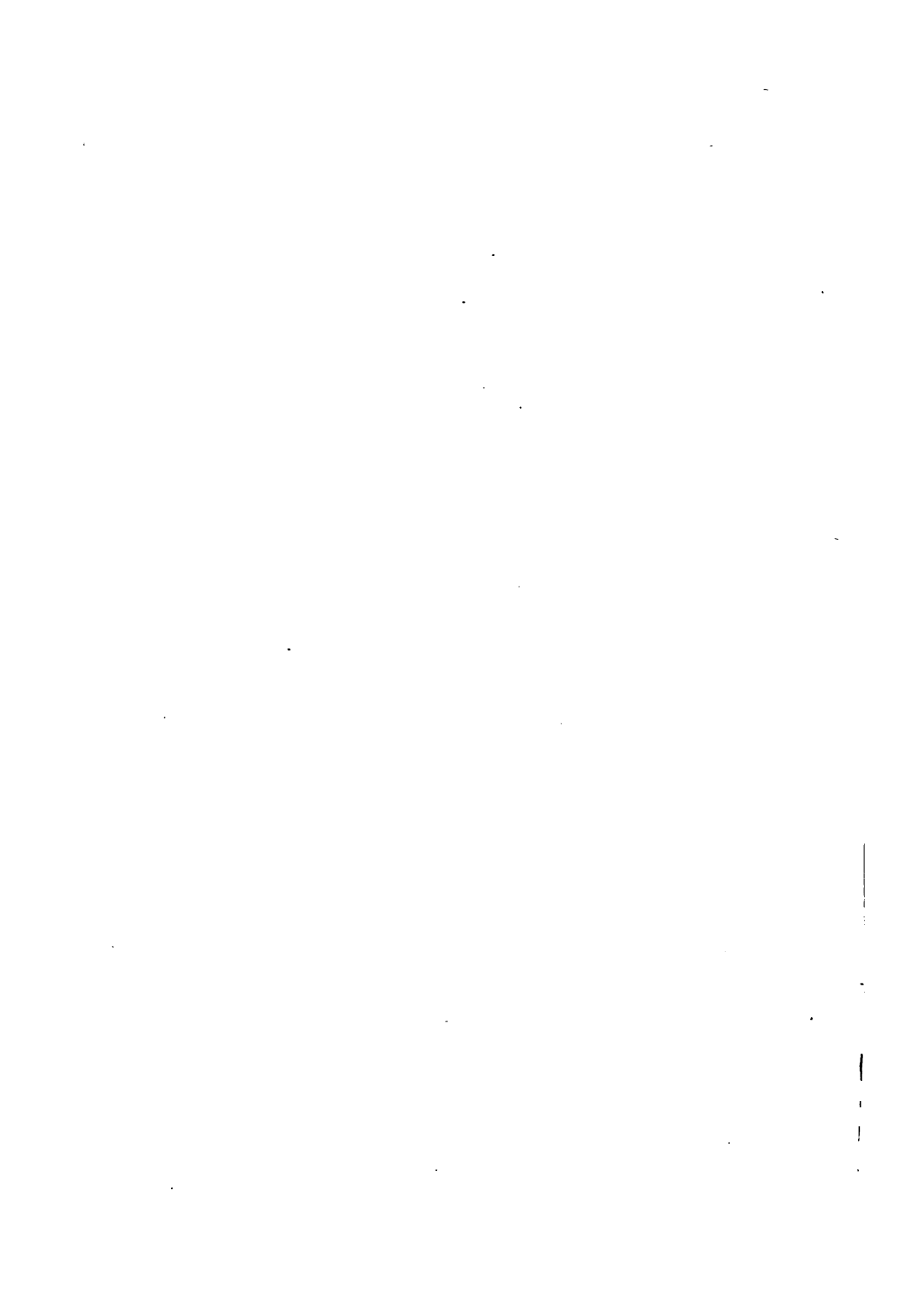
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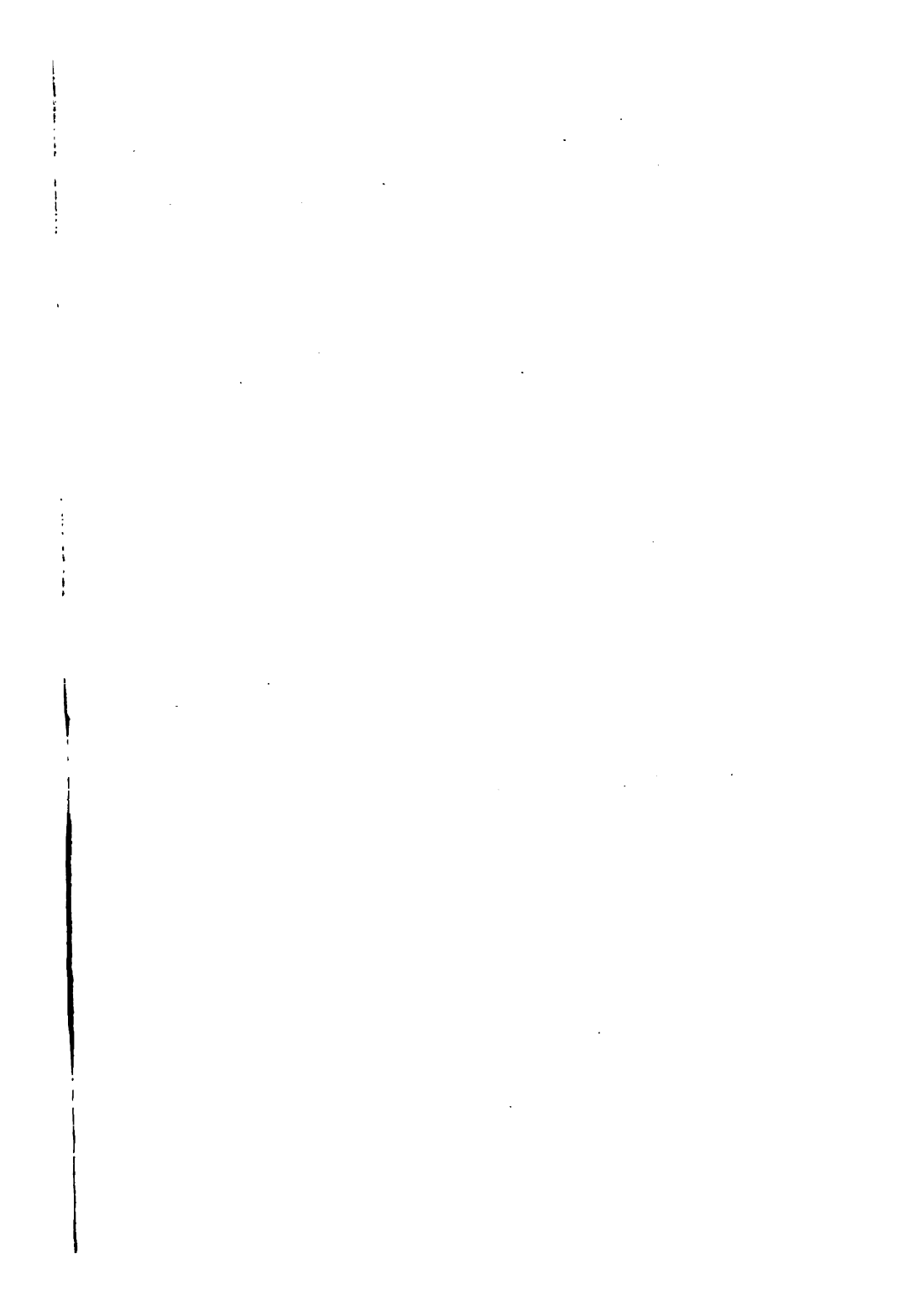
ISHBEL ABERDEEN,

Retiring President.

Haddo House, Aberdeen.

December, 1899.





WOMEN IN PROFESSIONS

**THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF WOMEN OF 1899**

**EDITED BY
THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN**

WOMEN IN PROFESSIONS

BEING THE

PROFESSIONAL SECTION

OF

The International Congress of Women

LONDON, JULY, 1899



WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY MRS. BEDFORD FENWICK

Convener of the Professional Sectional Committee



LONDON: T. FISHER UNWIN
PATERNOSTER SQUARE. 1900

14, 3

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LIST OF MEMBERS OF PROFESSIONAL SECTIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

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Mrs. DICKENSON BERRY.

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INTRODUCTION

It is not possible, in the limited space available, to deal with the whole scope of the Professional Section of the International Congress of Women. I must content myself therefore with touching briefly on the organisation of the department, the work accomplished, and the results which may be expected to follow from the exchange of knowledge and opinions between international experts on professional questions. The Sub-Committee of Arrangements entrusted by the International Executive to organise the Congress of Women suggested the broad lines of procedure by dividing the subjects to be discussed under five headings—Educational, Professional, Industrial and Legislative, Political, and Social Work. A Convener of each Section was appointed, who selected an Hon. Secretary, and who had full power to organise the Sectional Committee on lines which would be most efficacious in each case.

Organisation.—The arrangement of the Professional Committee was a matter of considerable difficulty in consequence of the diverse subjects which were grouped together as Professions, and the necessity that each branch of work should be adequately dealt with; a result only to be attained by forming a large Committee of experts. It was therefore considered advisable that one or more representatives of each profession at present open to women should be invited to act on this Committee, and give the Section the benefit of their practical knowledge. This plan was adopted, and the acknowledged success of the Professional Sessions was mainly due to the fact that these practical workers gave generously of thought and time to the organisation of the meeting which was to deal with their own speciality; and although I grant that, as a rule, a small body of persons arrange business more expeditiously than a larger number, in this instance I attribute much of the success of the meetings to discuss professional work to the fact that the

expert representatives interested themselves individually in their own sphere, and thus subdivided the labour. The facts that this Committee numbered twenty-three persons irrespective of the International Officers, that they held upwards of a dozen meetings, and that from first to last the utmost sympathy and harmony prevailed, at once dispose of the accusation that women thinking and working on different lines are incapable of co-operating for the common good, and prove moreover that they can do so in the most courteous and liberal spirit.

Sub-Committee.—The Sub-Committee was composed of the following representative women:—Mrs. Bedford Fenwick acting as Convener, and Miss Margaret Breay as Hon. Secretary.

Science. Mrs. Ayrton and Mrs. McKillop.

Art. Mme. Canziani and Miss Barbara Hamley.

Music. Mme. Antoinette Stirling and Miss Wakefield.

Drama. Mrs. Kendal, Mrs. Beerbohm Tree, and Miss Geneviève Ward.

Literature and Journalism. Mrs. Fenwick Miller, Mrs. Greenwood, and Miss O'Connor Eccles.

Medicine. Mrs. Scharlieb, M.D., and Mrs. Dickenson Berry, M.D.

Nursing. Miss Isla Stewart, Miss Margaret Huxley, and Miss Louisa Stevenson.

Agriculture. Mrs. Alec. Tweedie.

Horticulture. Miss F. R. Wilkinson.

Inspectors. Mrs. Phillimore.

Teaching. Miss Hurlbatt and Miss Alice Woods.

The Training of Teachers was considered in the Educational Section, and was therefore omitted from the professional programme.

Opening Session.—Originally the Professional Section was restricted to twelve sessions, but ultimately sixteen meetings were arranged, and yet it soon became apparent that the time at the disposal of the Congress was too short to permit of adequate consideration being given to many important matters connected with some of the professions. It was therefore decided to open the Section by the consideration of the subject of "Professions Open to Women," and to invite speakers of as many nationalities as possible to take part in it; by which valuable means of comparison, it would be possible to learn how the various professions were progressing in different countries. This arrangement proved very successful and instructive.

The Sessions were further devoted to the consideration of the Work of Women in Science, physical and biological; Art, including painting, sculpture, and architecture; Music, the Drama, Literature and Journalism, Medicine, Nursing, Agriculture, Horticulture, and the work of Women Inspectors, Librarians, and Clerks.

Altogether, upwards of eighty papers were read and one hundred and twenty invited speakers took part in the discussions; in most instances, these discussions were opened by the reading of shorter papers prepared with equal care and knowledge of the subject. It is interesting to note that women from the following countries spoke in this Section:—United States of America, Great Britain, Canada, New South Wales, New Zealand, and Cape Colony; Russia, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland.

The first striking fact which the meetings in this Section emphasised was that the field of women's work has been enormously extended during the last few years. Speakers from different countries, moreover, showed that various occupations had been successfully undertaken by women, which at present are closed to them in Great Britain. The work of women in the legal profession, for example, was ably discussed by Mlle. Marie Popelin, LL.D., of Belgium, who has studied and graduated in the Faculty of Laws in Brussels, and who practises her profession as a consulting counsel, although she has been refused admission to the Bar, on account of sex; and the brilliant paper on the "Study of Law for Women," by Miss Octavia Williams Bates, A.B., LL.B., LL.M., of the United States, where women study and practice law (as they have now power to do in Canada and France), was very encouraging.

The fact also that in the United States women can be duly ordained "clergywomen" of the Protestant Methodist denomination, and that hundreds of women are so employed was exemplified by the presence at the Congress of the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, formerly in charge of a parish near Cape Cod, Massachusetts.

The important question of "The Effect upon Domestic Life of the Admission of Women to the Professions," was dealt with at the opening meeting by Mrs. Fenwick Miller, who considers it is, on the whole, of benefit to the commonwealth that women should continue in active practice of their professions after marriage.

Science.—The illustration of the excellent work women are now doing in various departments of Science aroused great interest, for it was shown that opportunities are now being taken for achieving distinction in fields in which women, until lately, have had little part. The original work of Mlle. Klumpke and Mrs. Maunder in astronomical research, of Miss Dorothy Marshall in Chemistry, of Miss Raisin in Geology, of Mrs. Percy Frankland in Bacteriology, of Miss Ethel Sargent in Botany, and of Mrs. Ayrton and Mme. Curie, of Austria, in Electricity, proves that this aptitude for scientific work is being exhibited by women in many countries.

Art.—In Art the subjects chiefly discussed were Painting, by Miss Emily Sartain of Philadelphia; Sculpture, by Mrs. Adelaide Johnson; and Architecture, by Miss Clotilde Brewster; while "The Spirit of Purity in Art with Special Relation to its influence on the well-being of Nations," presented sympathetically by Mme. Louisa Starr Canziani, received the careful consideration which its importance merited. The session on Music was eminently popular, and aroused interest both from an educational and a professional standpoint.

Drama.—In speaking on "The Drama as a Field for Women," Miss Geneviève Ward took "Work" as her text, and quoted Mrs. Kendal's dictum that "the Drama is a field to till, not merely a pasture for an actress to graze in." Miss Mary Shaw, of the United States, Fraülein Nina Mardon, of Germany, and Mme. Chéliga of France, supported Miss Ward's contention that there is no career open to women which presents so broad a field for the exercise of cultivated power in almost every direction as that of the stage, nor one which is more lucrative.

But the aspirant to dramatic honours must be "sound" mentally and physically—and I must add, morally. Miss Clo. Graves opened the discussion in verse, ending with the inspiring lines—

"The player woman, once despised, shall stand
A power for good, a glory to the land."

Literature.—The Session on Literature excited much attention, and Mrs. Flora Annie Steel in her admirable paper, urged women to represent life as they see it, and pointed out that the very high average standard of merit attained by women who wrote, whether in history, science, fiction, or journalism, was remarkable. Mrs. Carmichael Stopes gave

a brief historical retrospect of women writers in the past, and Mrs. Stetson, United States; Fräulein von Milde, Germany; Mrs. Heinemann, Italy; Mme. Malmberg, Finland; Fru Gad, Denmark; and Mrs. Kapteyn, of Holland, spoke ably of the advancement of the literary work of women in various parts of the world.

Journalism.—At the meeting to discuss Women in Journalism, it was elicited that women are taking a very active and increasing part in Journalism in civilised countries; that, in fact, no daily paper can be considered thoroughly up-to-date and representative, which excludes women from its permanent staff, and that in many instances women are receiving for their expert work equal pay with men. Mlle. de St. Croix spoke of *La Fronde*, a successful French daily paper, edited and staffed entirely by women. Miss March Phillipps and Mrs. Ida Husted Harper exhorted women journalists to appreciate their responsibility and privilege in influencing public opinion. Mrs. Westover Alden, of the United States, speaking on the "Economic Position of Women Journalists," said that as news was the first demand of American editors, women found their chief scope as reporters.

Medicine.—The Session on Medical Women at which Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., presided, elicited an interesting discussion on the admirable papers presented by Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, of Chicago, and Dr. Kosakevitch Stevanofskaia, St. Petersburg, in which Dr. Mary Scharlieb, Dr. Aletta Jacobs, of Holland, and Dr. Ellen Sandelin, of Sweden, took part. The practice of medicine by women is extending in every civilised country, and facilities for their professional education are increasing, but it was made apparent that a full measure of justice is not yet accorded to the women who are occupied in this profession. It was pointed out that they are still excluded both in this and other countries from many medical bodies, honorary hospital appointments, and educational societies, while several examining bodies still refuse to grant their diplomas to women candidates.

Nursing.—During the Sessions on Nursing, several questions of great professional value were brought forward and discussed, notably in relation to the professional training and status of nurses. Mrs. Neill, of New Zealand, pleaded for a definite educational curriculum of training for nurses, to extend over a three years' course, that the final examination of nurses should rest with an independent Board of Examiners, and that the Certificate of this Board should entitle to Registration. She

also urged on nurses, and on all professional women, the vital necessity of working unceasingly for political enfranchisement. Miss M. H. Watkins, of Cape Colony, spoke from practical experience of the beneficial effect of State Registration for Nurses, an Act enforcing this reform having been passed at the Cape in 1892. She stated that legal registration had had a markedly good effect in the colony: first, by raising the standard of education for nurses; second, in raising the status of nurses; third, in awakening ambition in nurses; fourth, in affording, by the published Register, an opportunity to the public of knowing that the nurse they engage is duly qualified. Preliminary education, a three years' course in ward work, public examination by an unbiassed Board, composed partly of matrons, and State Registration by Act of Parliament, were advocated by Mrs. Bedford Fenwick. In relation to the organisation of Army Nursing, Mrs. Quintard, of the United States, made a point of the Service having a trained nurse as Superintendent; and Captain Norton, M.P., advocated Nursing Inspectors for Military Hospitals, and a joint Board of Control, consisting of two medical men and a trained Nurse. Mrs. Hampton Robb called attention to the advantage, for professional advancement, of the union of Graduate Nurses into Alumnæ Associations; and Miss Elizabeth Scovil proved the inestimable advantage of District Nursing amongst the poor, as illustrated by the Victorian Order of Nurses of Canada, founded by the Countess of Aberdeen as a memorial of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee.

Agriculture.—Two of the most valuable meetings from a practical point of view were those at which the work of women in Agriculture and Horticulture was discussed, and Professor James Robertson, of Canada, laid stress on the fact that both animal life and the scientific rotation of crops demanded the utmost degree of intelligent study by men and women. Mrs. Virginia Meredith, the head of the Agricultural Department in the State University of Minnesota, contributed a most able paper on Stock Breeding, proving from practical experience that women may excel in this branch of agriculture. Many women are now employed in poultry farming; dairying, fruit growing; Miss Dunington makes bee-keeping highly lucrative; and silk culture and ostrich farming have also attracted the attention of pioneer workers. Women's Agricultural Associations are springing into life, and, given good health and energy, it is probable that many women will find ample scope for work and independence on the land, in the near future.

Horticulture.—"Gardening as an Employment for Women" and the "Training of Women Gardeners" were subjects ably dealt with by Miss Fanny Currey and Miss White, of Alexandra College, Dublin, during the Session on Horticulture. The former is herself a successful gardener, and makes a speciality of bulbs, but she also advocated the growth of herbaceous plants, rhododendrons, violets, and carnations. Mrs. Tubbs and Miss Mira L. Dock, of the United States, were very encouraging as to the future of women gardeners. Miss White strongly advocated extended practical experience in gardening in all its branches if women are to succeed equally with men; the Principal of Swanley College was of opinion that science would in the future materially aid the work of the horticulturist.

Handicrafts.—Mr. Lethaby, Inspector in Technical Instruction under the London County Council, in dealing with the aptitude of women for the various handicrafts, maintained that in topographical drawing, decorative designing, embroidery, illumination, enamelling, and gold and silver work, women possessed qualities of taste, delicate touch, and a sense of fitness which should enable them to accomplish good work. Miss Morris proved that women are experts in decorative needlework. Mrs. Newman, herself an exquisite artist in the manufacture of jewelry and enamelling, advocated this employment for women. Miss Lowndes, as a practical worker, described the designing and painting of stained glass as a suitable occupation. Miss Julia Hilliam advised wood-carving; Mr. Karslake artistic bookbinding. Miss Kate Pragnell upheld photography, which requires artistic instinct, but can be made lucrative.

Women Inspectors.—The work of Women Inspectors, again, is a comparatively modern development, and its importance and value to the commonwealth were ably explained by Mrs. Byles, and other experts on the subject from different countries. In this connection, it is interesting to observe that the number of women who are being instructed in the duties of inspectors are rapidly increasing, and that the work which has been thus far accomplished by women has been frequently praised by those best able to judge of its usefulness. It is only a few years ago since Mrs. Nassau Senior began her work, and now there are seven Government Inspectors of Factories, and many more employed in different capacities by local authorities throughout the country. Mrs. Byles suggested the appointment of a woman Inspector of Prisons, for which position a

knowledge of psychology and sociology would be necessary. The necessity for female relieving officers was also demonstrated.

Clerical Work.—Under the heading of Clerical Work, openings for clerks, accountants, and typewriters, their qualifications and their training, were discussed by Miss Cecil Gradwell, Miss Hogarth, Mrs. Hoster, and others. There is good reason to believe that while many women in the past have adopted these various callings rather as amateurs and perhaps only as a temporary means of earning a livelihood, it is now becoming understood that success in these vocations as in all others, can only be attained in the future by those who are carefully educated and trained for the special duties which are involved.

Librarians.—At the final meeting of the Professional Section "Women as Librarians" aroused interest. Miss Toulmin Smith and Miss James, who have had many years' experience in public libraries, both in London and the United States, demonstrated how extremely interesting women found such work. We have evidently much to learn in the method of arranging and conducting our public libraries from the New World, but an increasing number of women are engaged in this employment in England, although the pay is usually quite inadequate. Indexing is apparently finding increasing favour amongst women as it can be carried on at home.

Results.—The practical effect of the Congress upon professional workers can only be gauged after a considerable time has elapsed, for it is evident that its influence will be made manifest in ever-widening circles, and that the most important results will be demonstrated when the delegates, who have now returned to the many countries represented by them, have disseminated the knowledge they themselves have acquired, and initiated reforms, or organised work, which they have been inspired to undertake. But some of the results are even now evident, notably the increase of the spirit of good fellowship and a sense of public duty, the absence of which so often mars the excellent work done by isolated women. Again, it is a great gain that the professional women who attended the Congress should have made the acquaintance of their colleagues working in other countries, and thus be brought into personal relations with them; and, lastly, the many international friendships formed must be productive of mutual understanding between women of diverse nations, creeds, and views, and so promote breadth of view, appreciation of others, and international harmony, thus dispelling the blight

of narrowness and ignorance, with their attendant evils. If the Congress had effected only this, it would have accomplished much, but its far-reaching influence can only be recorded in the future. One thing is certain, that it will stand for all time as a monument of the capacity of women, and of their power to conceive, to organise, and to bring to a successful issue great undertakings.

ETHEL GORDON FENWICK.

PROFESSIONS.

- (A) PROFESSIONS OPEN TO WOMEN. /
- (B) EFFECT UPON DOMESTIC LIFE OF
THE ADMISSION OF WOMEN TO
THE PROFESSIONS.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, WESTMINSTER TOWN HALL,

TUESDAY, JUNE 27, MORNING.

Mrs. CREIGHTON in the chair.

Mrs. Creighton opened the first meeting of the professional section by explaining the idea of the Committee in asking for so many papers. They did not wish the discussion to deal with professions which were already open to women in all civilised countries. They felt that certain professions ought to be open to women, and in a Congress of this sort, where people from all parts of the world were gathered together, it would be useful to hear of experiments tried in various countries of new openings for women, rather than of what had already occurred on the established lines. In order to allow woman to do that work which was most suitable to her, she must be allowed greater freedom than she had hitherto enjoyed. There were all kinds of prejudices to contend with. Some people assumed that women trained to a profession were thereby necessarily unfitted to become wives and mothers; or that if such a woman were married she would carry on her profession to the detriment of her home-life. This depended, to a large

extent, upon individual circumstances. But the professional training of a girl, the fitting her to earn her own living, did not of itself unfit her from becoming the very best wife and mother possible. Indeed, in some cases, women who were called upon to fulfil important home functions had received no training whatever. Another objection was on the score of physical health—that women were not strong enough to follow a profession. They were told of nervous breakdowns, of women who tried to do more than they were able. But, she asked, were not nervous affections also brought on by lives of idleness and frivolity? Women as pioneers in some branches were, to a certain extent, on their trial. As pioneers they must feel how great was their responsibility, how they were to aim at the perfect idea of womanhood in all ways and realise their responsibility, even in the smallest matters, for some of the noblest aims were frustrated by failing to observe the lessons taught by the experience of others. She concluded by calling on the reader of the first paper, who would be allowed twenty minutes.

Professions Open to Women.

Mlle. Marie Popelin, Dr. en Droit (Belgium), General Secretary of the Committee of the League for Women's Rights in Belgium.

WHAT must we think of that system of exclusion which closes a professional career to women? Is it really founded on tender solicitude to women, as is often stated; or is it but a manifestation of selfish and ambitious feelings?

Woman, we are told, is not fitted for public life; she should remain in the shadow of the domestic hearth, far from the gross contact of material life: it is the man alone who should go into the world to gain bread for the family. What would become, they ask, of the virtue, gentleness, delicacy of all the feminine qualities, in the ardent struggle for life?

If it is thus, if man has really tried to protect woman in restricting her to the domestic hearth, asking of her only to be its faithful guardian, one cannot but render homage to the sentiment which inspired him; but he must long have admitted to himself that his good intentions have proved fallacious, that his system cannot bear scrutiny and falls to pieces at the first breath of argument.

Woman lives upon earth; she is subject to the same material

exigencies of existence as man. The pangs of hunger are equally felt by both. Should she not, then, be allowed to work equally with man?

We no longer live in those distant times when woman was limited to the domestic hearth alone. The necessities of life force her to obtain, through her personal industry, those pecuniary resources which the equilibrium of the domestic budget demands. All our modern systems of social organisation compel her, more and more, to neglect her hearth, which, but for her industry, would too often be fireless.

Where fortune exists, labour is unnecessary; fortune, however, belongs to the small minority—the greater number regard as a necessity and also as a blessing the sovereign law of work.

On the one hand, there is the need of work for supporting her own existence and that of those depending on her; on the other hand, there is the need of intellectual labour and study felt by so many.

This double necessity ends the question, and defines clearly the rights of woman in relation to labour, and in relation to her right to the exercise of a profession.

What are those rights?

First—The access to labour and professions according to aptitude.

Second—To be paid at the same rate as men for the same amount of work.

Certainly much has been done for woman as regards instruction: a scientific horizon is open to her, the study of science is accessible—but she cannot go much farther. Men hold all employments; nothing is done without them. It is true that certain posts demand masculine qualities; to entrust them to women would be but to condemn them to inferiority. But, in their turn, feminine qualities claim certain employments, and they must be accorded to women. It is necessary for them, necessary for every one. The need of women to fulfil some functions is as pressing as their need of functions to fulfil; the element they represent not being sufficiently utilised, causes an unnatural void in society.

We know, and we must regret, that there are women who, being satisfied with the customs which exclude us, spare neither mockery nor bitter reproaches from those among us who dare to dream of an existence outside of the family. The greatest enemies of women's rights are not men, but women. But where is the fault? Men have so hypnotised them by their compliments, so deceptive yet so captivating, that they

cherish and exalt their slavery as the most desirable and favoured position in the world. Far from blushing at the humiliating position in which law places them in their social relations and in their family relations, they are proud of it, and maintain, with the most perfect conviction, that woman can but lose in changing her condition.

Without doubt, family affections and family cares are a woman's first duty. Who would think of contesting such a point? The family is not only a woman's first duty; to see nothing more in it is to be only half-way towards the truth. The family is her most imperious need, her most ardent hope, her deepest, most sacred dream. And then, is not maternity ennobling, morally and intellectually? Where, in what career, will she find better or larger scope for self-development and the utilisation of her faculties? But there are those who have never had a family, those who no longer have one, those who may not hope to have one. What objection can you make to these?

Thus, married or unmarried, surrounded with barriers, always looking on at life but never taking any part in it, we are rarely as women, that is to say as human beings, called to the development of our faculties, to realise our essential individuality.

Such absolute exclusion, is it legitimate or necessary? Who has the right to say to half the human race, "You shall have no share in life, no part in the family, no part in society"? Is not that denying them their title to human beings? Does it not disinherit both the family and society? Do we know whether society, as also the family, has no need for the advancement towards the ideal of the two thoughts, of the two different manifestations of human nature?

The long subjection of woman would prove one thing—which is, that society, till now, has perhaps had more need of the governing qualities of man, and that her hour has not yet come. But because that hour has not struck, we need not conclude that it will not strike. The tardy inception of an idea, far from proving its inutility or its injustice, often pleads for its greatness. Woman is all the more worthy, perhaps, that her cause has not yet triumphed.

If we would really and sincerely help on in the future the progress of humanity, there is a truth we must not lose sight of—humanity is not either man or woman—it is both man and woman. All hindrance in the progress of one sex will prevent the progress of the other, consequently the progress of humanity. Woman must have a share in social functions in

the name even of social interest itself. There is no question of supplanting man; on the contrary, the object is to second him—women will do what men do not do, or what they do ill because their aptitude leads them elsewhere. Employments of this kind are numerous.

The only social career that woman has partly conquered for herself is teaching. Here she is in the citadel, and it depends on her to extend her conquest: a conquest justified by her natural aptitude for education. Teaching is the feminine career above all others; it belongs to her by right of her vocation—formerly it belonged to her by right of conquest. But, in consequence of the restricted field of feminine careers, the inevitable overcrowding exists. For one vacant post in Belgium, and I hear it is the same nearly everywhere, hundreds of competitors present themselves. One alone, however, can be nominated. Where can the others go? What can they do? What will become of them? So long as the situation remains as it is, so long the economic condition of woman will not change. We can never have enough indulgence and pardon for all those who sink in the deceitful ocean of life. Who can say, then, that this question of woman's work is a question of secondary importance? You understand, do you not, where the insufficiency of resources leads her? and you will say that there is a work of reparation to be accomplished for the good of womankind—not to prevent her from working, for that would be committing a crime, but to open out to her, on the contrary, as much as possible, the field of feminine career.

As regards women doctors, experience has been gained. Small as it is, it shows already that the female doctor is useful to society, that she can really render to it real services. In short, the female doctor at once succeeded in marking her real place in society. As a woman, she devotes herself to the study of the diseases of women and children; there again operates the unchangeable law of nature in this selection.

The female barrister, as well as the female doctor, is equally necessary in similar conditions, as the natural confidant of the persons of her sex in litigious affairs, the indispensable auxiliary in feminine cases, where the motives of the accused can only be appreciated by her. Does she not open out to us a prospective of the true jury, realising the principle of its essence—judgment by her peers?

America, always in advance of Europe, counts already her hundreds of female barristers-at-law authorised to plead before

the courts of different States. Some of them are even received before the supreme court of Washington. We have not yet arrived at this position in Europe. Every time that the question of the female barrister has been raised, the spirit of hostility has terribly aroused; and of all careers monopolised by man or forbidden to woman by routine, that of the bar will most certainly be the most guarded. These gentlemen of the black gown defend their privileges with jealous care, and their organisation in corporation gives them a stronghold that it will be most difficult to conquer. It was the Signorina Lydia Goet who had the honour of asking the question in Europe, and we all remember that the Court of Turin rejected her demand. I am sorry time prevents my reading over here one or two of the arguments of the Court of Turin that tend to prove that magistrates are not such serious and austere people as we are pleased to think them—Italian magistrates, at any rate!

In 1888 the question arose again in Brussels. Though five years old, interest in it was not weakened, the same passion animated the discussion, and, as in Italy and in Switzerland, the attempt failed.

The French laws and decrees which rule the profession of the barrister in Belgium are mute in regard to the exercise of the profession by women. The Court of Brussels, in the absence of serious arguments, opposed the Civil Code.

"I cannot receive your demand," said the procurer-general. "No terms of the law forbid it, I admit; but the Civil Code, does it not forbid you to be witness to a will, to a civil act? I cannot accept your oath; the law on the organisation of the bar does not forbid it, I admit: but the Civil Code, does it not forbid you to witness any legal document?—it does not recognise you as guardian; as mother, you do not have equal authority with the father in the government of your children during marriage. As widow, the law watches over you, and has more confidence in a stranger than in the boundless devotion of a mother's love. Condemned to perpetual minority, you are an incapable being—you have lost your time and trouble—the bar does not reserve its struggles or its triumphs for you."

The "Arrêt" of the Court of Brussels contains an argument which, though serious in form, is not the less strange. This it is:—"Forasmuch as the private nature of woman, the relative weakness of her constitution, the reserve inherent to her sex, the protection which is necessary for her, her special mission to humanity, the exigencies and trials of maternity, the education she owes to her children, the management of home and

hearts entrusted to her care—all place her in a position very much at variance with that of a barrister and would not give her time, or strength, or the necessary aptitude for the struggle and fatigues of the bar.”

This speech is well turned, I do not deny, but, alas! all the value of the argument rests on its literary merit! Our juriconsults, preoccupied and absorbed in their researches into a long-vanished past, have not had the time to look around them, and have missed seeing what goes on to-day. Have not the economic conditions of our times forced woman to enter everywhere into the struggle for life and to dispute with all competitors the work which furnishes her with necessary resources? Would it be very difficult to find trades and professions exercised by women far more fatiguing than that of a barrister; employment where their health and virtue is far more exposed than in the court of justice in the midst of lawyers and austere magistrates? The decree of the Court of Brussels, if it was conclusive, would strike at and suppress all female work.

I regret my twenty minutes are at an end. I wish I had time to enter further into the arguments of this cause, one of the most important of all the feminine questions. But I trust I have succeeded so far in putting before you the facts of the case, and I earnestly solicit help for the final triumph of the question.

The Study of Law for Women.

Miss Octavia Williams Bates, LL.D. (United States).

It is now about twenty-five years since the largest law school in the United States, viz., that in connection with the University of Michigan, graduated women on the same terms as men and conferred upon them the degree of Bachelor of Laws.

It is scarcely ten years since the colleges and universities, in the State of New York began graduating women from *their* law schools.

In the Western States, the colleges more recently founded for students who wish to pursue the study of law, very generally offer the same advantages to women as they do to men, and upon the same conditions.

In the East, however, some of the best law colleges are not yet open to women. To-day, numbers of women in the United States are studying law upon terms of equality with

men. Some women have deemed it most expedient in lieu of better methods to pursue their studies in private, while others employ tutors to direct their work. (Many take up the study under the direction of University Extensive classes.) Among the latter class the most conspicuous example is that of Miss Helen Gould, of New York city. Heiress to an immense fortune, she felt the need of legal knowledge in the management of her vast estates and determined to acquire it.

Others go into the office of some legal practitioner, and there study the law. However, the best authorities claim that a scientific legal education cannot be obtained in the law offices of to-day. Hence, by far the largest number of women law-students enter the schools formed for that purpose. These schools so perfectly meet requirements as to excite the comment and praise of competent critics on both sides of the Atlantic.

All women who study law recognise it as a most valuable intellectual discipline, as it tends to broaden the mental horizon and induces juster and more comprehensive views of the world's thought and work.

The question of woman's position under the law is one that could never be properly and finally solved without the assistance of women themselves. This is the most important, complex, and irritating of all legal questions. Hence the need that has come to the "Woman Movement" in the United States for women of legal knowledge and experience.

The laws relating to marriage and divorce, the care and custody of children, dower, and domicile, should be made subjects for their special study and criticism as belonging to the province of their special knowledge.

All legislation pertaining to these subjects should be more intelligently discussed and more jealously watched, largely because of the ignorance of the feminine half of the community on these subjects.

Women should be awakened to a more intelligent interest in the external laws that govern the most sacred relations of life, and, through this, to influence legislation on these subjects—in a word, they should insist upon expressing in law, for the first time in the history of the human race, the *feminine* side of marriage, divorce, and other allied subjects, as well as the *masculine* side. To-day, upon our statute books, the latter is the only point of view to which utterance has been given.

Some, if not all of these considerations, should spur women on to a study of the laws that govern them in every relation of

life, permeating every home like an intangible, invisible, ever-abiding presence, making for the well-being and the highest development of the members of that home, or sapping and poisoning the very springs of national life.

Professions Open to Women.

Frau Bieber Boehm (Germany).

THE exclusion of women from all professions in which there is danger to health and morality will commend itself to most people, whether women or men, and though many of the latter quite agree with us, it is remarkable that they see these dangers only in scientific and higher branches of work, and in professions that are well paid. For instance, they designate the professions of clergymen and Government officials as entirely unsuitable for women, but as statistics show that members of these professions are long-lived there can be nothing to fear as regards health. Immorality also seems to be no worse in these two professions than in others exercised by men.

We also learn from history, which speaks with admiration, of a Queen Elizabeth, of an Empress, Maria Theresa, that women have proved themselves eminently qualified to fill the highest positions in their countries.

Even at the present time we can boast of three women occupying European thrones.

Among the professions which women have been allowed to enter, some are most dangerous to health and morals. Take, for instance, the business of the waitress, of the music-hall singer, of the ballet-dancer, and circus-girl. Many of our sisters in these callings inevitably succumb to seduction by men of all classes.

I would not deprive these women of the possibility of earning their livelihood, but it seems to me that we might try gradually to *supplant* these dangerous professions with such female occupations which have been taken possession of by men. These things are surely worth our serious consideration and our common care.

Cooking, for instance, is not the province of men; it can be done equally well by women. Let the men therefore turn waiters, and the waitresses take to the kitchen.

Take, again, the business of "ladies' tailor." Women can

learn this trade quite as well as men, and it is certainly preferable to be measured and fitted by female than by male hands.

An employment that is dangerous for women is that of book-keeping, where young girls are only too frequently subjected to the too great amiability of their employers.

Before closing, I would beg of you to give your consideration to a very well-paid business, although it is not on the list of professions prohibited by the other sex.

It is certain that when women make laws the first reform aimed at by them will be the freedom of the noble professions, and, above all, the prohibition of the trade of shame so dangerous to the community.

What? Are not those punished who injure their fellow-men by stealing? We likewise demand the punishment of that profession of prostitution which steals from our people their morals and their health.

It is useless to expect an improvement *either* in the countries where the law permits this disgraceful profession of vice to *every man* and to *every woman*, or in the countries where it is only *allowed* in certain houses, or where it is only allowed to all persons who place themselves under the control of the police. The result will remain the same: the poisoning of the people will increase. To all those who object to the suggestion of punishment, and who dare to claim the right of personal freedom in regard to the practice of this public trade, let the words of the celebrated lawyer, Rudolf Thering, be quoted: "Above the freedom which is good for *one*, stands the justice which is good for *all*."

Mme. Camille Bélilon (France).

EN France dans les administrations de l'Etat, tels les téléphones, le timbre, les postes et télégraphes, beaucoup de femmes sont employées, mais elles n'occupent que des places subalternes et ces places sont beaucoup moins rétribuées que lorsqu'elles sont données à des hommes. On va en juger: d'abord les hommes stagiaires touchent 600 francs par an; les femmes stagiaires reçoivent—0 francs, 00 centimes!

Titulaires, les femmes débutent avec des appointements de 1,000 francs; les hommes avec des appointements de 1,500 pour le même travail, bien entendu. L'augmentation des dits appointements est pour les femmes de 100 francs tous les 18 mois ou 2 ans; pour les hommes de 300 francs tous les

3 ans. Dans les services actifs, dans les bureaux de Paris au poste central des télégraphes ainsi qu'à celui des téléphones on donne comme maximum aux femmes 1,800 francs ; aux hommes 4,000 francs. Dans l'administration centrale, c'est à dire dans les services relatifs à la Caisse d'Epargne et à la comptabilité, les femmes peuvent toucher jusqu'à 2,200 francs, jamais davantage ; les hommes touchent jusqu'à 4,900 francs.

De plus, dans ce dernier service, les femmes doivent fournir un plus grand nombre d'heures de présence.

Il n'y a pas de femmes dans le personnel administratif des villes et des communes, non plus que dans les ministères. Je ne crois pas nécessaire de parler des fonctions politiques, à peine des fonctions administratives dépendantes de la Ville ou de l'Etat. L'accès en est interdit à la femme sur presque toute la ligne. Je dis *presque* . . . car nous avons des inspectrices dans l'Assistance Publique, peu nombreuses, il y a même des administratrices fort rares, car bien que cette dernière fonction ne soit pas rétribuée les femmes rencontrent beaucoup de difficultés lorsqu'elles demandent à la remplir.

Il y a un grand nombre d'infirmières dans nos hopitaux ; nous avons aussi des inspectrices d'industrie, mais cela nous le regrettons, car ce dernier poste a surtout été créé pour faire respecter une loi antiféministe.

Quant aux institutrices et aux femmes professeurs, nous en avons dans les écoles primaires et secondaires, mais point dans l'enseignement supérieur. Il n'y a aucune différence entre le travail de l'instituteur et celui de l'institutrice mais il n'en est pas de même de leurs appointements. La différence est aussi forte que pour les employés des postes et télégraphes. On nous dit sans cesse que la femme et l'homme étant des êtres dissemblables ne doivent pas avoir de droits égaux . . . car alors la femme *se masculiniserait*, et bien ! c'est très logique ! pour que la femme institutrice reste différente de l'homme instituteur, on lui donne des appointements inférieurs ! N'est ce pas un moyen fort ingénieux pour éviter une fâcheuse similitude entre l'homme et la femme ?

Quant aux professions libérales qui exigent la prestation de serment, tels les notaires, les avocats, les avoués, etc., les femmes en sont exclues.

Il n'est pas défendu à la femme d'être ingénieur, mais comme il n'existe pas pour elle de cours destiné à la préparer dans ce but, c'est absolument comme si cette profession lui était interdite.

Cependant, il vient d'être créé pour elle un cours d'archi-

lecture à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts qui, ainsi que l'on sait, lui est ouverte depuis deux ans. Cette mesure va avoir pour résultat de porter les efforts des femmes de ce côté.

Quant à la question d'ouvrir aux femmes la carrière du barreau, des députés appartenant aux partis les plus opposés ont réclamé dans ce sens. La décision du Parlement n'est pas douteuse et ce n'est plus qu'une question de temps.

La carrière médicale est ouverte aux femmes mais on emploie toutes sortes de moyens pour empêcher les parents de faire enseigner la médecine à leurs filles. Cependant malgré ces efforts ce préjugé s'éteint, du moins en ce qui regarde les doctresses en médecine car nous n'avons pas encore de chirurgiennes, ce qui est très regrettable, non seulement pour les intérêts des femmes et les progrès de la science mais encore au point de vue de la morale et des convenances.

Nous devons ajouter qu'à raison de l'organisation de l'enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles, celles-ci ne sont pas préparées à l'enseignement supérieur et par cette raison elles ont les plus grandes difficultés à conquérir les grades qui confèrent le droit d'exercer les professions libérales.

C'est ce qui explique ce fait bizarre que les Françaises sont rares dans nos facultés. Les étrangères sont plus nombreuses. C'est qu'on leur demande simplement de produire un certificat obtenu dans leur pays et nullement équivalent au diplôme de bachelier que l'on exige des Françaises, lesquelles sont plus sérieuses et plus ardentes au travail qu'on ne le croit communément, et le jour où elles seront débarrassées des entraves qu'on leur apporte systématiquement elles en donneront la preuve.

Aujourd'hui elles s'occupent beaucoup de littérature et de journalisme. C'est surtout la création de deux grands journaux politiques dirigés par des femmes, *la Fronde* et *le Pain*, qui a donné cet élan. Vous le voyez, il n'y a qu'à leur ouvrir la porte. L'Etat occupe un grand nombre de femmes dans les industries dont il a le monopole. Par exemple dans la fabrication des allumettes et la manipulation des tabacs. Dans cette dernière industrie, les femmes sont employées dans la proportion suivante :

Catégorie des ouvriers : Hommes, 98 ; Femmes, 1,026.

Catégorie des préposés autrement dits surveillants contre-maitres et chefs de sections : Hommes, 52 ; Femmes, 24.

Dans cette dernière catégorie où hommes et femmes font exactement le même travail il est alloué aux premiers, dès leur entrée 1,800 francs par an ; on élève leurs appointements

jusqu'à 3,500 francs. Quant aux femmes, elles ont 200 francs en débutant, et l'on ne consent à augmenter ce chiffre que jusqu'à concurrence de 1,790 francs. Ainsi le maximum des appointements attribués aux femmes n'attient pas le minimum de ceux des hommes.

Vous voyez que sur toute la ligne on est fidèle à ce système d'établir une différence entre l'homme et la femme qui de cette façon *ne se masculinise pas !*

Il y a un assez grand nombre de femmes employées dans les banques, mais comme toujours elles n'ont que de petits emplois et de maigres appointements.

Aucune interdiction directe ne s'oppose à ce que les femmes exercent les professions manuelles. Cependant il faut excepter le travail exécuté dans les mines. Au nom du Code la femme n'a pas le droit d'y travailler.

Quant aux autres professions manuelles, lorsque les femmes ne peuvent les exercer, c'est parce que l'usage s'y oppose tout simplement. Mais il ne faut pas croire que cet usage vient de ce que ces métiers sont trop pénibles pour la femme, mais parce qu'ils sont bien rétribués et qu'il est d'usage de réserver aux hommes tout ce qui est avantageux. Les hommes sont horlogers, bijoutiers ; les femmes portent le pain, blanchissent le linge, balayent les rues, sont marchandes des quatre saisons ; si les hommes ne repoussent pas les travaux pénibles, ils ne les choisissent pas non plus ; ils recherchent les métiers lucratifs. C'est assez naturel, mais il ne faut pas se figurer que les travail est organisé selon les forces des individus.

Enfin, aujourd'hui nous avons des cours de sténographie pour les deux sexes. Les femmes sont d'excellentes sténographes. Nous avons également un certain nombre de femmes dactylographes mais leur salaire est peu élevé.

Vous le voyez, Mesdames, nous avons encore beaucoup à faire ! nous n'avons pas que les lois à combattre. Il y a aussi les usages, les préjugés, mais si nous étions en possession de nos droits, usages et préjugés ne seraient pas longtemps debout.

C'est pourquoi nous insistons toutes pour devenir l'égale de l'homme devant la loi et lorsque l'on nous dit : " Demandez donc le droit au pain au lieu de réclamer le droit au vote." Nous répondons : " C'est comme si vous nous conseilliez de confectionner un vêtement en nous blâmant de vouloir nous munir de fil et d'aiguilles."

Nous concluons en demandant qu'aucune profession ne soit fermée à la femme et qu'elle décide elle-même de ce qu'elle

doit ou ne doit pas faire. Cela au nom de la justice de l'égalité et de la morale.

Fröken Gertrud Adelborg (Sweden).

THAT Swedish women have a right to work in almost all the professions, except the military and the clerical, is in a certain measure owing to the free constitution and the traditions of the country, where woman has ever held a high position.

However, existing rights are not so universally made use of as could be desired. There is not much difficulty in making the men of Sweden see the justice of opening up new fields of work to women. It is more difficult to arouse the interest of woman herself.

Sixty-three per cent. of the National School teachers are women. At the seminary for national school teachers and at the high schools for boys and girls there are many female teachers. At the universities their numbers are small as yet, but a lady (graduate) is at this moment lecturer of law at the University of Upsala.

Lady doctors and dentists are in good repute. The demand for sick-nurses for district work, as well as in the home, is rapidly increasing, and we have modelled ourselves principally upon English experience and ideas in this profession. Not so with midwifery, which has long stood on a higher footing in Sweden than in most other European countries. The Swedish midwife has to pass a course of study for one year before being allowed to practise. Ever since the year 1829 she has had the right to use instruments in cases where the doctor could not arrive in time.

Few ladies have as yet taken up the profession of law, though legally there is nothing to prevent their practising at the bar.

The professions of art have long been open to women. In 1856 admittance to the Academy of Music was granted, and in 1866 to the Academy of Painters and Sculptors. Moreover, the scholarships with which these institutions are endowed are open to both sexes, and women have competed successfully with men in them.

In the literary profession women confine themselves principally to works of fiction. Some of them also find employment as journalists.

About the year 1860 the offices of the postal, telegraph, and railway departments were opened to women, since which time

they have been employed in these departments in considerable numbers, but as yet only in the lower and less remunerative posts.

Women are largely employed in factories and workshops, but almost always it is the less important and the least paid work which is entrusted to them. And in some more practical trades, such as bakers, confectioners, watch-makers, &c., it is almost impossible for women to gain admittance.

No "Factory Acts," however, limit woman's right to labour in any factory or workshop, and I believe I am not mistaken in stating, as one reason for this, the fact that married women more seldom seek such work in Sweden than in the great industrial countries, owing probably to the circumstance that "the struggle for existence," as yet, is not quite so hard in Sweden as in many other countries.

It is, however, all very well with the fields of labour legally opened up to women in Sweden, and especially to the educated woman's work; but it would not help us much were it not fortunately held in estimation by the public. The first pioneers found much prejudice and great difficulties to contend with; but gradually public opinion came round, and now we often find women of the best families, daughters of men in the highest offices of State, as school teachers, or gymnasts, or doing office work, &c., and their relatives and friends are disposed to approve rather than discourage them, even when belonging to the best society, the Court circles not excepted.

Fortunately statistics prove that the privileges we Swedish women have long enjoyed, as well as those we have of late acquired, have not injured either our health or our morals.

A few statements kindly given to me by the Royal Swedish Bureau of Statistics may serve to elucidate this.

1. The average length of life of woman in Sweden, which may be taken as a proof of her sanitary condition, is 51.47 years (2.92 years higher than the corresponding figure for the male sex). This figure is higher than in any other European country, and, besides, the difference in the length of life of the sexes is higher than in most European countries—England and Belgium being exceptions.

2. As a criterion of the state of morality may be taken the number of illegitimate children born yearly. Their percentage for the whole country is now the same as in the middle of the century. But for the city of Stockholm particularly, where the altered state of things brought about by the development of modern society is most striking, the number of illegitimate

children born has diminished from 43 per cent. in the years 1861-1865, to 28.9 per cent. in 1895.

3. It may further be observed that in the years 1861-1865, 160 women per million were annually sentenced for crime. Since that time this figure has been on the decrease, and from 1876 to 1895 the average yearly number of such sentences has been 106 per million. The corresponding figures for the male sex have also been on the decrease, though in somewhat less proportion. Of the sentenced criminals in the years 1861-1865, 17 per cent. were women. And in the years 1876-1895, the women were 15 per cent. of the whole number.

Professions Open to Women in Canada.

Miss Derick (Canada), Lecturer on Botany at McGill University, Montreal.

A GREAT part of the population in Canada is too fully occupied in a struggle for material success to gratify freely their artistic, literary, or musical tastes.

The majority of Canadians famous in art, music, and literature, have sought renown abroad. Albani is seldom heard at home, Clara Morris and Julia Arthur are usually seen in the United States and England. The productions of Canadian poets and novelists are generally to be sought among foreign publications. Even in the learned professions, the power of production is greater than that of consumption, and many of Canada's best known sons and daughters are to be found in other lands.

Since one of the country's greatest needs is the development of the agricultural interests, it seems strange that the stock-breeding and dairy-farming experiments of Mrs. Jones, and Mrs. Jack's success as a horticulturist have not inspired many women to follow their example. It is only in such pursuits and in domestic service, which might be raised to the rank of a profession like nursing, that there will be no danger of overcrowding for years to come.

Nursing is already recognised as a suitable and profitable calling for refined and well-trained women. The Victorian Order of Nurses is doing much in bringing the nurses in touch with those who need them most, and the opportunities for work are increasing almost as rapidly as the workers. But,

even in nursing, many like Miss Nutting of the John Hopkins Hospital have met with success in the United States.

A new profession has been created by conditions which many Canadians deplore. Great numbers of young women are coming from the country to the city and are competing eagerly for ill-paid work in shop and factory. This enormous increase in the number of working women, combined with a recognition of the abuses which may be associated with factory life, has led to the appointment of women factory inspectors in almost every great manufacturing centre. They have already accomplished much; and the work is affording women of experience, tact, and ability, scope for the exercise of all their talents. Naturally, however, factory inspectors must remain few in number.

With the growth of towns and the foundation of public libraries new openings for women are found. At present few serve as head-librarians, the majority being assistants in university and city libraries. This is partly due to the fact that few have the necessary training; but the development of training-classes in connection with university libraries will probably lead more college women to adopt that which should prove a most congenial profession.

In Canada as elsewhere success in most businesses, trades, and professions depends upon natural qualifications and thorough training. In many, women are under no disability, in so far as their sex is concerned, and their remuneration depends upon the nature of their work and the value to the public of the services rendered.

Great differences in regard to the learned professions exist between provinces and cities. The Church need not be considered. For, though here and there a woman, like Dr. Yeomans, may preach occasionally, none are ordained and in charge of congregations of any denomination.

There is only one woman in Canada engaged in the legal profession. Miss Clara Brett Martin obtained a B.C.L. degree from the University of Toronto in 1897. Before she could be enrolled as a solicitor and barrister, two special enactments of the Ontario Legislature, placing women upon the same footing as men, were necessary. Regulations were also framed by the Law Society of Ontario under which regulations women admitted to the practice of law pay the same fees as those paid by other students-at-law.

In Nova Scotia women are not debarred from studying law at Dalhousie University, and they are eligible for all the

degrees given by that institution. The Provincial Barristers' Act would, however, prevent their practising, and none have entered themselves at the university as law-students. Judging from the liberality shown by Nova Scotia in other respects, probably a request for an amended law would lead to the required change.

In the Province of Quebec, the status of women in regard to the study and practice of law is the reverse of their position in Nova Scotia. No college has any provision for furnishing women with instruction nor for conferring upon them degrees in law. As there is no restriction mentioned in regard to sex, in the Act regarding the legal profession, no exception made in women's disfavour, there is no reason, in so far as the law of the province is concerned, for any woman wishing to practise law not doing so. The attitude of the Provincial Law School is, however, a barrier. Unlike the other parts of the Dominion of Canada, according to a clause in the Treaty of Paris, the English Criminal Law prevails, but in civil cases the old French Civil Law. The training, therefore, which would qualify a person to practise law in Quebec cannot be obtained in other provinces. Though the British North American Act made provision for the introduction of uniformity of laws throughout the Dominion of Canada, comparatively little uniformity exists and the laws can be changed only with the consent of the legislatures of the several provinces.

In Manitoba and British Columbia there are licensing boards for granting permission to practise law in these provinces; but, so far as I can learn, the question of women entering the profession has not been raised.

Women's position in regard to medicine is quite different. If duly qualified, they are allowed to practise medicine throughout the Dominion. In all the provinces, except Quebec, the Medical Faculties of some of the best universities at least grant women degrees after submitting them to examination, and in several the classes are open to them upon the same terms as men. The Ontario Medical College for Women gives an excellent training which may be supplemented at University College, the University of Toronto. Several of the graduates of the Ontario Medical College have been very successful at home, and many have established themselves in other countries. One is an assistant in Gynæcology in John Hopkins University; another is house physician in the Cleveland, Ohio, City Hospital. Women as well as men are upon the teaching staff of the college, Dr. Augusta Stowe Gullen

being the Professor of Diseases of Children, while others are lecturers on various subjects.

In the Province of Quebec, the famous Medical School of McGill University is closed to women, but they are freely admitted to the Medical Faculty of Bishop's University. The largest hospitals in Montreal will not permit of their attendance in the character of medical students, though nurses-in-training have all the usual privileges. It follows, therefore, that the medical training obtainable by women in Quebec is limited, and the most successful as physicians and surgeons have studied in other places, such as Vienna, London, Edinburgh. Since Dr. Elizabeth Mitchell began to practise medicine in Montreal about ten years ago, a great change has taken place in public opinion. Then, even women hesitated about employing a woman-doctor. Now, several have large practices in Montreal, and have nothing to contend with on account of their sex; on the contrary, the fact of a doctor being a woman adds to her chances of success.

In the maritime provinces, women doctors, legally and educationally, are upon the same footing as men; but few have taken up the profession. Four have graduated from the Medical School in connection with the Dalhousie University, and one of these doctors is practising medicine in Halifax, another in New Glasgow.

At least one woman doctor has proved most successful in the west. Dr. Yeomans, of Winnipeg, is well known for her ability, both in her profession and in all work for women. The University of Manitoba grants degrees to women; and doubtless, as the country is more thickly settled, many women will find their life-work as doctors in western towns and villages.

In every place the greater number of educated women are employed in the teaching profession. About one-half of the women graduates of Canadian universities become teachers; to their number must be added those trained in normal schools and those who in the past entered upon their work directly from the high schools with certificates granted by some provincial board of examiners. Each province has the exclusive control of its own schools, and diplomas granted in one are seldom recognised in another. The profession is overcrowded and salaries are very low. The best posts are given only to those with university and professional training, and even they have generally supplemented their home-training by post-graduate work in the United States or Europe. A few statistics, gathered from educational reports, may be of interest.

In New Brunswick, in 1896, there were 216 women teachers holding first-class diplomas and 147 men. According to the class of their certificates, the average salaries of women teachers varies from \$188 (£38) to \$314 (£63) a year; those of the men from \$227 (£45) to \$504 (£101).

In Nova Scotia, in 1897-98, there were three times as many women as men teaching, the average salaries of the former, according to the grade of their diplomas, varied from \$164 (£33) to \$552 (£110), those of the latter from \$178 (£36) to \$841 (£168) a year.

In the Province of Quebec the salaries in the Roman Catholic schools are lower than in the Protestant schools, and there are far fewer lay teachers. In Montreal women's salaries in the Protestant schools vary from about \$300 (£60) to \$900 (£180) a year. Throughout the province the salaries of men teachers are nearly double those of women.

In Ontario, the average salary of the women teachers is \$291 (£48), of men \$600 (£80). In the cities women obtain as an average \$420 (£84), men \$865 (£173) a year. In many of the collegiate institutes in Ontario women receive salaries of \$1,000 (£200), and, in a few cases, of \$1,500 (£300) per annum. In British Columbia, the salaries given to teachers in the public schools vary from \$250 (£50) to \$1,500 (£300) per annum. In fact, an ascending scale of salaries is found in passing from east to west; and, as competition is not so keen in the younger parts of the country, the salaries of the women often equal those of the men.

There are only a few women teaching in Canadian colleges, except in those which are of the rank of girls' schools. In these higher positions the status and salaries of the women are equal to those of men doing similar work. Several women are on the staff of the Ontario Medical College for Women. Dr. Ritchie England is Demonstrator in Anatomy at Bishop's College, Montreal. One of the lecturers in McGill College is a woman. As has been already implied, the supply of teachers is far greater than the demand, and only those who combine talent with good training will attain success. Even for the best-equipped, desirable openings are few, and many, like Miss Ritchie, Professor of Psychology in Wellesley College, Massachusetts, have sought their fortunes in the United States. There are far more women than men in the profession, and there seems to be some danger of the education of children being left exclusively to women—a state of affairs as unnatural and unfavourable to the well-being of future generations as the opposite extreme.

In science women are but beginners, and though a few are engaged in research work, this is secondary to the demands made by busy professional lives; the product is necessarily limited, and of little interest to the world.

The writer of this paper regrets that insufficient time has prevented the collection of detailed information in regard to the West, and feels that much wider knowledge would be necessary in order to treat the subject satisfactorily. The facts presented may, however, be of interest as supplementary to papers on individual professions by those who have had personal experience in them and who will have the opportunity of giving their views at this Congress.

The country did not need the addition of great numbers of women to those already engaged in the learned professions, though in these women of genius would meet with little difficulty and could render services of incalculable value to their fellows. Where women would find fields worth conquering in Canada would be in agricultural pursuits and domestic service. In both classes of occupations the demand was great and the rewards of those doing intelligent work equally great.

With few exceptions, a Canadian woman is free to pursue any calling for which she may be fitted. The public will not question her choice; and she may do her work with the calmness and self-poise, which is the possession of her "who has arrived." Then, judged by the character of her work, which is in the nature of things sexless, she will soon reach her level be it high or low.

Professions Open to Women.

Miss Ethel Hurlbatt (Great Britain), Principal of Bedford College, London (for Women).

THE excellent report of Miss Collett of the Labour Department upon the census returns of 1891, and the report of the Labour Commission, 1893, are two reliable sources from which to obtain statistics as to the employments pursued by women in Great Britain. These reports show, among other important evidence, that although there has been an absolute increase during the ten years between the census of 1881 and 1891, in the number of women who are wage-earners, that increase has not been in proportion to the growth of population; but

that there has been a considerable increase in the number of trained workers. In other words, there has been an increase in the number of professional women, using the word professional in its wider sense to include those occupations for which a definite preparation is now necessary, not limiting it to the learned professions.

Satisfactory classifications of the professional employments of women can hardly be made. The two following important economic divisions have been suggested: 1. (a) Salaried; (b) paid out of profit. 2. (a) Highly paid; (b) fairly well paid; (c) barely producing a living. Again, 3. (a) organisers, (b) artists, (c) teachers, (d) doctors, (e) savants, (f) operators, including clerks, typists, etc. Or again, (1) Professions almost entirely open to women alone, *e.g.*, nursing; (2) Professions to which women have every access, *e.g.*, teaching, except in its higher branches; (3) Professions in which women compete at a disadvantage, *e.g.*, medicine. In every profession a definite qualification, a previous training, enables the worker to obtain a better remuneration for her services. In some, the educated woman is competing successfully with the uneducated man.

The limits of this paper do not allow of more than a brief survey of those professional employments most largely pursued by women, and some reference to those which appear to offer a suitable field, and in which there seems to be a need for their activity.

In the census of 1891, 150,000 women were returned as teachers; of them some 53,042 were employed in public elementary schools. For this career a training, though not compulsory, is becoming more usual, the expense being borne partly by the State. It offers certainty of employment, with salaries varying from £50 to £80 in the country, £85 to £125 in towns; independence; the duties are regular, there is little out of school work; there are good prospects of promotion to head-mistress-ships, with salaries of £80 to £120 in country, and £100 to £300 in towns. The long hours, large classes, and rigidity of code requirements make the work in many respects unattractive, but the conditions will certainly if slowly change for the better with the improvement in general culture and training of the teachers.

In England women entirely staff secondary schools for girls, which are either public, proprietary, or private, receiving no State or rate aid. In Scotland and Wales the secondary education is rate-aided and co-education is common, hence women have not a monopoly of the teaching. Salaries vary

from £80 to £150 for assistants ; £250 to in some instances very much larger sums for head-mistresses. The possession of a degree or its equivalent is generally regarded as essential, and an increasing value is now attached to a professional training.

In higher education there are no great prizes for women. Since there is little or no endowment for research or post-graduate study, women have not as yet done much independent work in art or science, and those who have done so being numerically insignificant, they are seldom successful in competition for appointments for higher teaching.

A great impetus was given to the entrance of women into the medical profession by the need for their services in India. In addition to at least 85 women practising in India, and 45 in China and elsewhere, there are 54 practising in towns in England, exclusive of London, where there are 85 ; while they are to be found in twelve towns in Scotland and eight towns in Ireland ; 20 women holding appointments in Edinburgh, 16 in Glasgow. Seven examining bodies, including five Universities, admit women ; London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin have their special schools for women. Aberdeen, Cardiff, Dublin, and Durham admit women to their medical schools.

The mission field in India, China, Africa, and Armenia now presents a great opening to women whose sympathies and zeal dispose them to co-operate with the twenty-seven Foreign Missionary Societies now availing themselves of their services.

In law, little or no advance has been made. Although a few women have qualified themselves by examination, the Inns of Court and an Act of Parliament respectively block the way to their becoming barristers or solicitors. In India there is a more immediate call for their services, social customs making it impossible for a native woman of high class to meet a man for legal advice, or to appear in court except in a closed litter. These women, often possessed of large independent property for the administration of which legal advice is necessary would welcome a channel of communication with English or Indian officials which the assistance of women lawyers would provide. One woman, Cornelia Sorabji, has qualified herself fully and with distinction, but is prevented solely by reason of her sex from pleading in court.

There are many other professions into which women enter in large numbers, *e.g.*, nursing, journalism, Civil Service, technical work, including the domestic arts, horticulture, and various branches of agriculture, all to be discussed by this

Congress. There are others in which small beginnings have been made, *e.g.*, stockbroking, architecture, and librarianship. There seems every likelihood of women excelling in ordinary commercial and business life, for which the thoroughness and thrift acquired by long practice in domestic management should have fitted them. Commerce yields larger returns than other employments, and when women take their full share in them they will be in a far stronger position socially and economically. The greatest need is not so much new professional openings, as of existing opportunities of employment. There is work in plenty for the capable and well-qualified woman; what is wanted is the means of bringing the right woman and the right work together.

In Great Britain an immense amount of unpaid voluntary work is given in the public service. Women are beginning to contribute their full share as members of boards of guardians, school boards, parish and district councils, in the management of hospitals and other public institutions, the conduct of parochial work, the administration of public charities, the management of social and educational societies. There is an increasing need of the exercise of a trained intelligence in this work. The best disciplined mind, the soundest judgment, as well as knowledge tested by experience, are needed for every kind of serious work, and we have begun to realise that the ordinary duties of citizenship and of domestic life, the management of household and of children, the unavoidable "profession" of so many in our so-called leisured classes as well as of the wives and daughters of our working population, are not to be left to the uninstructed intelligence or the unskilled hand.

Mrs. Rutgers Hoitsema (Holland).

To make it possible for all of you to understand what I am going to say and to get a clear idea of the conditions under which Dutch women have to gain their own livelihood, I must divide women into three divisions :

1. The women of the working and lowest classes, those who work with their hands, who have had what we call no education, such as domestic servants, factory girls, etc.

2. The women of the middle classes who have had a sort of education, who work partly with their hands, partly with their head; as tailoresses, shop girls, office girls, etc.

3. The women of the higher classes, those who get generally a careful education, and who have to take some

degree or to pass an examination before being allowed to practise their profession ; as teachers, governesses, chemists, nurses, etc.

I will begin with the first division. These women belonging to the working classes have all to work for their own living, either for weekly or daily wages or for payment by piece.

Their occupations are : housekeeping amongst families like their own, and also as servants, charwomen, messengers, and dry nurses, etc., in the higher and highest classes of society. If, in the working classes, a husband is out of work, or if, as generally is the case, he does not gain enough to supply the wants of the whole family, the woman must be the breadwinner also, sometimes by shopkeeping, sometimes by working in other families. Such women are washing, ironing, cooking, sewing, knitting, darning, etc. They do such for shops as well as for private families and for corporations. Women in Holland generally do all that sort of work, and may take those professions which are despised by the men belonging to their own class, never minding whether the work is fatiguing or not. The work is despised only because it is badly paid. Women carry stones where streets and houses are in course of construction ; in brickworks they convey the bricks in wheelbarrows ; they sell fish and fruit and vegetables in carts along the streets, and cry out loud what they have to retail ; they root out weeds if grass happens to grow in any dull street or quarter of a town ; they work in the fields ; in the peat moors ; in oyster banks, and in a great many trades and industries, the most fatiguing and the most unhealthy included.

The exhibition of women's work which was held last year in The Hague, cried aloud to everybody who had dreamt that all married women were faithful wives and good housekeepers and dear mothers to their children, that thousands and thousands work for their own living far away from their homes. They find work in a great many factory establishments, as for minerals, for eatables, for manufactures, for furniture, for leather wares, for paper, for wooden wares, for chemical productions, etc.

Thousands also work in washing and ironing establishments, in coffee and tobacco garrets, in hospitals, in different asylums, and so on.

As for the second division, the women of the middle classes, if they are well off they do not work for money at all, and if

this is the case some of them work very hard in their own family; others do very little. If they are poor, they have to choose some profession that is suitable for wellbred persons, for they are very much afraid of doing what we call servant's work.

In this division, women choose generally one of the following professions: milliner, dressmaker, housekeeper, nursery governess, shop girl, hairdresser, teacher in kindergarten schools, stewardess, bookkeeper in shops, telephonist, etc. Some women belonging to this division are midwives, others let rooms, or keep a shop, or take some article *en dépôt* such as coffee, tea, chocolate, linen, soap, and so on.

The women of the third division, those of the higher classes, occupy of course the best professions open to women. But you must well understand that the greater part of them have no profession at all and that they do not wish to have one. The profession which was considered a long time the most fit for well-educated women is that of teacher. In my youth there was hardly any choice between instruction and domestic service. Nowadays women enjoy much better conditions. If they wish to be independent, or if circumstances oblige them to gain their own livelihood, they have full choice.

They may be teachers, both in elementary and in secondary schools, also in industrial schools, or in training schools of cookery and of housekeeping, or if they wish they may be teachers of divinity. They also may be nurses, not only in a hospital, but also district nurse or private nurse.

If the parents can afford to give their daughters the necessary education, they may become physicians, dental surgeons, or chemists. If not, they may be functionaries in the post office or mail service, employees in the telegraph office or the telephone office; they may take a place in booking offices, or in offices to do shorthand or typewriting. If they have an artistic turn, they may choose painting, drawing, modelling, music in all forms, etc. Of the 836 professions stated by the Government ten years ago, at our last national census 380, that is, nearly half the number, were practised by women.

I beg you to notice that the profession of teacher is open to women, from the very beginning to the highest rank, that of professor at a university.

In our elementary board schools where boys and girls are educated together, the female teachers are generally employed only for the two lowest classes with pupils of six and seven years. Male teachers are usually charged with the lessons in

degree or to pass an examination to practise their profession; as teachers, nurses, etc.

I will begin with the first division belonging to the working classes having their own living, either for weekly or daily wages.

Their occupations are: housekeeping for their own, and also as servants, charwomen, dry nurses, etc., in the higher and higher ranks. If, in the working classes, a husband is generally the case, he does not gain for himself, but for the whole family, the woman also, sometimes by shopkeeping, in other families. Such women are washerwomen, sewing, knitting, darning, etc. They work well as for private families and for corporations. Holland generally do all that sort of work, professions which are despised by the higher classes, never minding whether they are their own class, never minding whether they are not. The work is despised only because it is menial. Women carry stones where streets and roads are to be constructed; in brickworks they are employed; they sell fish and fruit along the streets, and cry out loud what they root out weeds if grass happens to grow in a street or quarter of a town; they work in peat moors; in oyster banks, and in various other industries, the most fatiguing and included.

The exhibition of women's work which was held in The Hague, cried aloud to everybody that all married women were faithful wife-keepers and dear mothers to their children, and thousands work for their own living in their homes. They find work in a great many ways, as for minerals, for estates, for furniture, for leather wares, for paper, for chemical productions, etc.

Thousands also work in washing and ironing in coffee and tobacco garrets, in hospitals, and so on.

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PROFESSIONS OPEN TO WOMEN IS 20,000.

this is the case some of them work very hard in their own family; others at very little. I can not say that we choose some professions that is better or worse than others for they are very much mixed - some that are very good and work.

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the higher classes. And the place of principal of such schools has been up to this time always occupied by men. Yet there is no title in any act or law which says that women cannot occupy that place. I remember that once a lady teacher applied for a place as principal and that nobody could refuse her entrance to the competitive examination. You will all understand that she was not considered to be a serious candidate. But this fact shows clearly that women are excluded by custom, not by law.

So it is with the professorships. Though we have not yet a female professor in our country, yet one of our female physicians had lately a very good chance of being nominated.

As far as I know (and I have read most carefully the whole Act) all the professions of our judicial organisation, from the lowest to the highest, are open to women. Yet they are all occupied by men. Women never applied for one, I think. Nevertheless, a woman can be a barrister-at-law as well as a man. It is indeed a great pity that we cannot boast of a single Dutch woman who is Legum Doctor. One is studying now for it in Leyden, and I hope very much that our barristers will not find out any article upon which to reject her if she wishes to enter the courts after having taken her degree. I don't expect that we ever shall have in Holland a martyr like Marie Popelin in Belgium or Jeanne Chauvin in France.

A woman can study theology at our universities and take her degree as doctor too, but there are ritual rules which do not permit her to act as clergyman, or as preacher in the Protestant churches. She may be a teacher of divinity, that is all, and for that profession she has to pass an examination before some ecclesiastical body.

Though women are admitted to all our universities and to all university lessons as well, though they are allowed to take the same university degrees as men and on the same conditions, yet we have something to complain of. Fancy that 10 per cent. of our grammar and classical schools do not admit girls to their classes. Such is the case especially in places where Roman Catholic influence is considerable. This is unfair, for anybody who wishes to enter a classical school gives the best preparative education, and a course in one is almost indispensable to the university, at least for any one who wishes to study law, theology, or classical languages.

Passing on to post and telegraphy, I am sorry to say that in this branch the professions are not all open to women. The highest and best-paid places are carefully reserved for the

strong sex ; and even women are not admitted to the very low places on the same conditions as men. In case of vacancies or if more officials are required our Director-General never fails to advertise that only one-fourth, one-fifth, one-seventh or one-tenth part of the places are at the disposal of women. Therefore women have a very small chance at the competitive examination which is prescribed by law, and consequently there are few who apply for it. The more energetic and clever women choose another branch which gives better chances, the more so as the best-paid places are unattainable by them. It is all the same with the positions at telephonic offices and at the Post Office Savings Banks. If payment is so bad that a well-bred, clever young man never will apply for it, the position is most generously reserved for the fair sex. For telephony very often only women are summoned. A very great injustice in this branch of service is also the fact that married women being qualified never can get a place ; and if female functionaries marry after having been nominated and placed at some office, they are boycotted and so fearfully vexed by their superiors that after some time they must give it up and ask for dismissal. At least one lady had the choice of two evils : living with her child at the greatest possible distance from her husband or giving up her profession. She chose the latter. The reason is that our actual Director-General is a violent anti-feminist, and our Secretary of the Board of Works is of the same opinion. As for the lately created professions, that of factory inspector and assistant factory inspector, both are open to women, and two months ago the first woman was nominated for the latter.

In our railway companies men and women both are employed. And of course it is again the old song—the lucrative positions are given to men, the badly paid places are occupied by women. Last year fifty-two women were in railway service either as clerks or as halt stationmaster, and one thousand two hundred and forty-six followed the profession of railway watcher. A railway watcher gains only five-pence a day. That is why they are so plentiful, you know.

And now I come to darkest Holland.

All professions for which political franchise is indispensable are inaccessible to women, because in Holland, just as in most of the countries, women have to go without civil and civic rights. That is the reason why they cannot be notaries and why most of the dignities and professions in government, provinces and communities are closed to them.

The Effect upon Domestic Life of the Entry of Women into Professions.

Mrs. Fenwick Miller (Great Britain).

THERE is already some, but not sufficient, recognition of the cruelty, the heartless selfishness of the conduct of parents who, having no possibility in view of providing even a meagre annuity for life for their daughters, yet keep them at home untrained to any wage-earning profession, knowing that at any moment, and certainly (if they do not marry) when past their prime, they will be turned out, by their father's death, and left standing alone, elderly, homeless and helpless, in a world in which it is none too easy for even trained skill and bright youth to secure a comfortable maintenance. To provide every girl with either an annuity or a profession is surely a duty as incumbent on parents as it is already recognised to be in the case of their boys.

True, the influence of this practice on the domestic life of the parents may not be altogether happy. It is hard to part from our girls for the training and practice that are inevitable if they are to follow a profession successfully. But the loss to us of their society is trifling compared with the hardness and awfulness of the experience that may be theirs if early training is neglected.

Moreover, there are not a few cases in which domestic life would be all the happier for the daughters going forth as sons do. I refer to those numerous families where there are really no home duties for the girls to perform; a still active mother holds in her own hands all the threads of domestic life, and four or six girls dawdle idly through their days, discontented because useless, unhappy because their individual powers are chained down, and their abilities unexercised and therefore undeveloped. Bitterness and "ugliness" of temper in general make many a home miserable, simply because, from some theory or silly pride, several adult women are there mouldering away their forces. Let loose this fermenting spirit; sweeten by active motion this stagnant strength; and restore happiness to the hearth at the same time that productive work for the right to live is given to the world in place of lazy consumption.

But when we approach the other half of the question it is somewhat more difficult to see the best path.

To acquire professional skill is the work of many laborious years ; no matter what the profession—the artist, the musician, the literary woman, the doctor, the teacher, the actress, the organiser—has had to undergo a costly training, one which has probably cost much in money, and beyond a doubt has cost much in mind and body. Is all this to be lost ? Is there to be no return to the world in services, and to the individual in a pecuniary or honorary reward ? Again, the feeling that marriage will be very likely to make such an end of it all is the main cause why parents are careless about providing the means and facilities, and girls are idle in desiring or in seriously preparing themselves for a professional life ; and that is bad—that tendency must be counted in as one factor against the giving up of the professional life on marriage. Nor is it an imaginary contingency—that able women will be deterred from accepting marriage, if it necessarily implies domestic life pure and simple.

It would be a misfortune if the mothering of the next generation should be left to the feeble minds and less powerful wills, and if those women who prove by their success in professional life that they have brilliant abilities and strong characters come in the main to refuse all share in motherhood, as a condition incompatible with their largest ideals.

And this leads us to the crux of our problem : Is professional life compatible with good motherhood ?

Let us not shut our eyes to the fact that to do satisfactorily both professional work and domestic management simultaneously a woman must have organising power and industry, and energy beyond the common, and that her life will be a scene of hard work and gravity, and not one of carelessness, ease, and pleasure-seeking. So heavy, indeed, is the burden that I should be loath to advise a young woman to encounter it ; she should feel sure of her energy to do and courage to endure, and fairly certain of her physical strength, to make her feel it a wise step to add the charge of a household and a husband's comfort to professional labour. Also she should feel sure that the man is of such a disposition as to be worth her effort.

The home should be a place of rest for the breadwinner ; but the business wife needs pampering, and considering, and preparing for further effort as much as the husband. The man who marries a professional woman must make up his mind to

give and take in this respect—to be cheerful and consoling and admiring, even when he does not quite feel so—because his wife needs it as he needs it.

The important question is whether a professional woman is likely to be as good a mother as a home-keeping one? It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this consideration; but here the same arguments apply. The physical care and moral training of children are matters to be studied, and the better the mother's mental development the more effectual will be her comprehension, and when she knows her wisdom is to be carried into practice by the exercise of exactly those qualities of judgment and steadfastness to duty that professional training is likely to have developed and improved. True, it is only by absolutely giving up society and amusement that a professional woman can devote adequate attention to her children, and I would not pretend that it is not an advantage to children to have their mother's constant presence in the home; but by her improved intelligence and wisdom as well as by the educational advantages and the increased supply of many comforts and pleasures of life that she confers on them by her earnings, a professional woman more than indemnifies her children for her less constant personal presence. It is, as I must presently repeat, certainly too great a strain to be safe for a woman to follow a profession and bear and watch over a constant succession of infants, but motherhood may be a nobly successful part of the life of the professional woman.

It must be noted, too, that the formation of homes and the entry into domestic life is in point of fact facilitated for the woman who has acquired a profession that she can continue after marriage. There are happily great numbers of young men to whom intellect and knowledge in a woman are supreme attractions, instead of drawbacks; and there are also thousands who are really pecuniarily unable to encounter all alone the expense of family life, however great the desire they feel, who would gladly marry if they "saw their way"; and the wife's self-support enables the ménage to be established while both are still young, when the man alone would have to wait and struggle till the shadow of middle age fell on his path. As a fact, successful professional women have abundant opportunities of marrying, and most of them do marry.

Thus then, I hold that the entry of women into professional life, so far from checking domesticity, allows them to marry to a greater degree if they wish and where they wish, and prepares rather than unfits them for directing the business of a house-

hold, while it gives them a width of knowledge and an intellectual stimulus that causes them to be brighter and more interesting companions, and more valuable advisers and helpers in the dark hours of life to their husbands, always remembering that they too as workers must have their share of home blessings in a different way from the housekeeping wife's requirements. To the professional woman herself, the management of the household and the bringing up of two or three children offers no insuperable difficulties, and she certainly *may* have the satisfaction of a home of her own, the happiness of love and motherhood, the moral support of honourable matronage, together with the pecuniary independence and the interest and credit of a professional career.

It seems to me so desirable to have the professional wife an institution in our midst that I revolt against all those ideas that render it at this day so often dangerous and so generally unwise for a woman to marry and continue to follow her profession.

The chief rock on which I see matrimony under these conditions wrecked is the legal one—that there is no adequate and really applicable method of making a man contribute to the support of his family.

The proper idea is, of course, that when husband and wife both work for money, they shall “pool” their incomes, and the wife shall thereby be relieved, by having the means to employ efficient substitutes, of all the actual domestic labour that is commonly performed by the wives of the middle-classes. If the wife earns out of doors she cannot make dresses and bonnets, and mend and alter the clothes of the family, and shift and contrive to cheaply make the house look smart and pretty, and cook dainty dishes, or teach a series of cheap, inefficient, raw young servants how to cook, only to have them leave her “to better themselves” as soon as they are taught. The so-called “dependent” wife of the struggling professional man *must* and *does* do all this. The business wife must be able to economise her own time and forces by paying good wages to get efficient servants to carry out her directions, by employing freely dressmakers and needlewomen, and giving away her family's worn clothes instead of “dodging them about.” The unprofessional wife earns her keep by saving money—the professional wife cannot reasonably both earn and save. Money must be spent more freely for service in her domestic life just because she is making money outside. But most unfortunately, in a large number—I fear in the vast

majority—of cases a husband seems to become utterly demoralised by not feeling on his shoulders the responsibility for the burden of his family's expenses. It is really appalling to me to know so many cases as I do where men have yielded to the temptation of shirking their fair portion of the burden of domestic life. To earn a fair income is so hard in this crowded age—it means unremitting attention to business, ignoring slight illnesses, bearing disappointments and rebuffs, losing no chances and overlooking no openings. The man on whom his family rests finds the energy for all this ; but too often—horribly often—the man whose wife can and does fill the gaps that he leaves sinks by slow or fast degrees into the drone who will not endure or meet manfully the conditions of success in working life. Some poor excuse, of course, is usually forthcoming—he has delicate health, or his business cannot be got to succeed—but really and truly it is that he idly shirks the hardships of work, or gives way to the temptation to spend on selfish personal enjoyments all the money that he makes. Drink, tobacco, amusements, and sooner or later the canker of the worst sort of depravity that is sure to work dry-rot in the idle man, take all that he earns. If the home can be kept up by the wife, the man has nothing to do but ignore her requests for money to pay the necessary bills, and she cannot make him pay them—it is to her that the tradesmen apply, it is she who has to order the meals and say whence they are to come, it is she who is expected to see that the children are kept decently clad, and the servants' wages paid—the man cannot be called to account, or his failures of duty exposed to shame him ; and thus the temptation works unchecked.

A legal change seems needful if the professional wife is to become a general factor in our civilisation, or else we shall be simply reduced to the condition of the savage women whose husbands regard them as their beasts of burden, their recognised means of support. Allow a wife in case of need to apply to a civil court for a maintenance order on her husband for the home. Such an order would not often need to be actually applied for ; the man who knew it could be obtained, and that so his disgraceful position towards his family would be exposed at the same time that his conduct would have to be amended, would not allow the matter to come to a hearing, but would supply his quota without the law being actually called upon.

The danger is so often met in reality that personally I would provide against it by making a man's non-support of his family a ground for complete divorce (of course accompanied by an

order on the children's claim for support from their father), as it is in Prussia and other parts of Germany and in many of the United States, including in the old honourable system of jurisprudence of New York, Massachusetts, and Maine. But in view of the strong feeling here against increasing grounds for divorce, I would urge that a Bill should be introduced providing that any able-bodied husband not supplying support to his family should be liable to be summoned to show cause why he should not pay a sum to be fixed by the Court, with penalties such as are now allotted for failure to obey such an order under our "Maintenance in Case of Desertion Act," the cases to which I draw attention being those where the man does not desert, but lives with and on his wage-earning wife. I repeat that such a law would seldom be called into actual operation; its existence would suffice, while honourable men marrying professional women should welcome a law that would keep them free from any suspicion of not contributing to their own domestic expenses.

An important point in which professional life for women must affect our domestic status is in regard to population. In the strongest manner suitable to such a gathering I would urge that a choice must be made between a professional career and a large family. The cruelty of the strain of carrying on a profession, under the stern conditions of punctuality and steady exertion, that are the essence of professional work during a period when so much is demanded from the constitution to found a new life, is extreme. It can be borne occasionally, and with long intervals of rest between, without permanent injury, by women of average strength; though the effort for the time being will generally be felt severely. But to attempt to make this double strain an ordinary condition is to court disaster. I do not so much urge this for the sake of the children. Nature will ruthlessly drain the maternal strength for the young growth throughout her plan. It is for the sake of the mothers that I feel bound to point out that the large families so common amongst us demand the consecration of the whole of the mother's powers to that department of life alone. Professional wives must mean either small families (as in France, where married women work so much so few children are born) or broken down mothers: the old woman whose husband expects her to earn the family income, and at the same time bear a periodical baby, must "strike" for her life; she cannot do both—cannot be the old woman and the new woman at once.

To sum up : it seems to me that the entry of women into professions will beneficially affect domestic life by freeing many-daughtered households from the congestion of wasted lives, and saving parents from the remorse of leaving helpless, untrained, middle-aged single women to face the world ; it will facilitate marriage by making the establishment of homes possible to many men who must otherwise have foregone them ; it will not interfere with domestic comfort under proper conditions, inasmuch as the training for a profession improves the qualities that tend to make a woman a good housekeeper and mother ; but, on the other hand, it is too often the case that the professional wife is left, under our present defective marriage laws, to perform all the domestic duties, earning the whole income as well as keeping up the home, that should be shared between husband and wife on whatever basis the home is constructed. Finally, a limitation of the number of the family must accompany the continuance of professional work by a married woman.

DISCUSSION.

Mrs. Bedford Fenwick, in opening the discussion, said : The first question which, it appears to me, is raised by Mrs. Fenwick Miller's admirable paper is : " Does the wife who is engaged in professional work make for the good of the home ? And, in consequence, is she, or is she not, of benefit to the nation ? " Mrs. Miller seems inclined to answer the question in the affirmative, and in this view I would cordially agree, although, at the same time, it must be generally realised that outside professional work is somewhat inconsistent with the old-fashioned idea of the domestic life of the housewife. It must be regarded as unquestionable that the professional wife cannot serve two masters. If she attempts to perform so impossible a task she will fail in her duty to both. However well cultured her brain, however well trained her faculties may be, the average woman cannot be at once a successful professional worker and the mother and home-maker. No one should attempt to combine such diverse functions. To succeed in any profession in these days of keen competition means unremitting toil, early and late, and the employment of every power of brain and body which one may possess. Under these circumstances, the professional wife must depute the majority of her domestic duties to others, and, as a matter of justice to her husband, this fact should be clearly understood before marriage, so that the compact should be a fair one.

Marriage is a contract, and should carry with it a sense of mutual obligation ; but too often the "reciprocity has been all on one side." The man has governed, the woman served, and, in the large majority of marriages, both parties have enjoyed this well-defined position. But it is the fact that women *enjoy* their servitude that is the chief difficulty in raising the ideal of marriage in the public mind.

But we are forced to realise that the woman, however highly cultivated and trained, is constituted by nature a creature of infinitely more delicate nervous organisation than a man, and that it is impossible for her to bear the nerve-strain of housewife and of breadwinner. Such a strain would speedily spell nervous exhaustion, and inevitable misery in domestic life. As I have said, no man would attempt to do so much, and it must not be expected from any woman.

Let us own at once that wifehood and motherhood are recognised as privileges, duties, and joys, by the average woman. To be just to our daughters, let them be taught from their youth up all the dainty arts, and some of the crafts, which go to make good mothers and worthy wives.

At the same time, each girl should be afforded opportunities equal to those given to her brothers, and, by skilled teaching, be enabled to earn her bread in that branch of labour for which she shows inclination. Should she ever be thrown upon her own resources, she will then be safe and independent. Such a trained and skilled worker may, or may not, elect to marry, but should it seem good to her so to do, she will, at least, be well equipped to aid her husband by her earnings, or not, as circumstances may require. It is by the realisation that Duty is the great law of life, that humanity will pass through the stages of evolution and attain the highest spheres of being.

Mme. Antoinette Stirling said that in her opinion the papers read had really been too hard on the men. She had been singing twenty-four years and never appreciated her husband till she found herself as a ship on the ocean without a rudder. Women must look upon husbands and wives as manifestations of God, as personalities who should manifest love and justice. Let them realise that each was necessary to the other, and thus let them work together for the common good.

Miss L. Keimer, from Austria, said that her country was perhaps the most backward in Europe on the woman question. Nearly every profession was closed to women. She was the

first woman in Austria to approach the editor of one of the important newspapers, with the result of being allowed a space of three columns a week in his paper ; and in one year's time four other Austrian papers had opened their columns to women.

Mrs. McKillop thought that domestic life to-day did not demand the same amount of time as formerly, and that it was a good thing for woman to have a profession, not merely as a means of filling up her spare time, but as a means of livelihood, should she have to fall back on her own resources.

Miss Rosenheim, of Melbourne, said there was a great number of women doctors in her colony, two of whom had obtained posts as medical officers in hospitals.

Mrs. Gilrow, of the United States, thought professional women could not be home women ; they could not combine the two occupations.

Miss Fenwick Miller, **Dr. Aletta Jacobs**, of Amsterdam, and **Mrs. Fenwick Miller** took part in the discussion.

M E D I C I N E .

(A) TRAINING AND QUALIFICATIONS OF
WOMEN DOCTORS.

(B) WOMEN'S WORK AS DOCTORS IN
HOSPITALS, IN PRIVATE PRACTICE,
AND UNDER GOVERNMENT.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, WESTMINSTER TOWN HALL,

TUESDAY, JUNE 27, AFTERNOON.

MRS. GARRETT ANDERSON, M.D., in the chair.

Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., who presided, opened the proceedings by giving a brief account of the conditions under which women were admitted to the medical profession in the United Kingdom.

The Training and Qualification of Women Doctors.

By Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson (United States).

"If it is possible to perfect mankind, the means of doing so will be found in the medical sciences," was the verdict of the philosopher Descartes. This profound truth becomes more apparent as we better comprehend what is meant by medical sciences. Few realise that medicine has become the embodi-

ment of science, as jurisprudence is the embodiment of ethics, and theology of metaphysics ; also that from the most insignificant of the learned professions this century finds it leading all the others, while medical students are required to make better preparation for their work than is required of any other class. Curiously, but logically, this apotheosis of medicine corresponds to the third period in the evolution of the race, that of productive industry. In this period, as is pointed out by Professor William T. Harris, physical force becomes less, and the human being more, hence this universal movement toward the development of woman. Up to the present there have been three distinct epochs in the evolution of our race, and in each the position of woman has changed. Her status in the first stage was fixed and routine ; hers were the agriculture and the manufactures, while man did the emergency work—fighting and hunting. His was the periodic, hers the persistent type of industry ; productive industry and civil society belong to woman. The second stage is characterised by the division of labour, which becomes particular and specific for man, but universal and generic for woman. Out of the second has grown the third period, productive industry, or the conquering of nature by machinery. Now woman has come back to the industries, but in a different way. The drudgery of the family, to which she was subjected in the second period, has been conquered ; she is no longer the weaver, the tailor, the baker, the brewer. These industries have been almost violently taken from her hand in the home, more and more is the machine becoming her agent ; in other words, ideas are at the helm, and ideas are neither male nor female—they are universal. Directive power thus becomes the chief characteristic of this age ; now we are able to comprehend the philosophical reasons why and how women are in the front rank of the world's thought to-day. The present status of woman is not a passing fashion of the hour, it is a demand of social evolution in which woman has played no conscious part ; whether she will or no, she is obliged to educate herself as a part of the great fore-ordained plan. As Professor Harris states it, "she enters the arena with the age of machinery, and emancipation from physical labour must be compensated for by activity of thought." For myself, I believe in a future epoch for the race in which the necessary drudgery of the world shall be voluntarily performed as a means of counterbalancing the destructive power of mental minus physical activity ; and as the only means of establishing a just, ethical standard for all. We are now

prepared to understand the proposition of Professor Harris, that over and above vocation and destiny is an absolute state of man, that the culture of the human soul cannot have physiological limitations. The foregoing is a brief summary of the universal causes that have made the woman of to-day a thinking being, fit for medical training if she so desires. Are there any special reasons why she should be trained in medicine? In the light of statistics we may well ask, "Is woman's highest 'norm' chiefly clinical?" In the United States women furnish the special surgical clinics, not only in their own hospitals, but from 65 to 75 per cent. of the surgical cases in the general hospitals. Judging from medical literature and the great number of eminent specialists of other countries, we are not peculiar in this regard. This universal need of surgery for women in all civilised, and even semi-civilised countries, is enough to startle womankind into a state of interrogation at least. Has the Almighty made an error in the anatomy of woman, or is she the victim of her own ignorance? Why this enormous amount of surgery? If it is possible to perfect mankind, and if the means of doing so are to be found in the medical sciences, then has woman's work in medicine been most distinctively planned for her. Man has been trying alone for ages to perfect the race. For centuries the conservation of the health of women has been entirely in the hands of men, yet to-day we find womankind supporting more than half the hospitals. Is it not time that the woman doctor should come to the relief of her much amputated sisters? Thoroughly trained in science, may she not stem the tide of ignorance that has incapacitated the majority of women? Now that the time and place have both been evolved for the woman doctor, the question alone remains how can she best train herself for this great predestined work. Fortunately there is no sex in science—all the distinctions that have ever been drawn are artificial—hence they are slowly but surely crumbling away. When Miss Blackwell was refused admission to medical schools on the ground of sex, then was born the era of the Woman's Medical College, which era is now well on in its dotage. These colleges have done good work, they were the necessity of the hour. In my country but three have arrived at any distinction. The oldest of these at Philadelphia dates from 1850, and numbers among its *alumnae* many physicians and surgeons equal to the best. The course is four years, and the requirements for admission are surpassed only by the Johns Hopkins'. It has a woman's hospital of its own, while the clinics of the best general

hospital are open to the students, *plus* the ill-manners of the university of Pennsylvania students. These men, and some of their professors, still look upon woman as an intruder in medicine, unless she presents herself as a patient. A legacy has been left recently by a lady to the university which carries with it the admission of women, so it is possible that a separate school for women in Philadelphia will not long be a necessity. The next in age and importance is that of the New York Infirmary, with Elizabeth Blackwell at its head. This school has never cared for numbers, but it has cared a great deal for quality, and it has made a record of which all women should be proud. Since leaving the other side, news has reached me of the voluntary withdrawal of the New York school from the field because of the opening in New York of the Medical School of Cornell University, a co-educational institution; thus has this Woman's College been true to its policy of loyalty to the highest interests of women, even to the surrender of its own existence. The Chicago School, to whose faculty I belong, dates from 1869. Its chief claim to distinction is founded upon its superior clinical advantages, and to the fact that its graduates are allowed to compete, often successfully, for internships in our great public hospital. The expulsion of women from the Chicago Medical College was the origin of the Woman's College. Recently both these schools have become the Medical Department of the North-Western University, but no university is rich enough or wise enough to support adequately two medical schools; hence it is but a question of time when the woman's school must be absorbed. It is no longer a necessity, as both of the other university schools are admitting women, namely, the University of Illinois and the now famous Chicago or Rockefeller University. This disposes of the three leading schools in the United States, but few of our States are without their state universities, and each has its medical school, which is co-educational; that of the State of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, being the most advanced as to age and requirements. That which has given the greatest impetus to the training of women doctors in my country is the opening of the Johns Hopkins University. Mainly through the efforts and the generosity of Miss Mary Garrett, of Baltimore, a fund of 500,000 dollars was raised for this purpose, and it is stipulated that women graduates of the school may serve as internes in the hospital, a very wise provision, as hospital appointments are most jealously guarded from women. The requirements for entrance are the highest

in our country. Even if one possesses a liberal degree he is obliged to have at least a year's training in laboratory work, with physics, chemistry, and biology. This, with the four years' undergraduate medical study, gives a five years' course to the graduates of this school. I have the authority of the dean himself as to the fine scholarship of the women students.

Since the Johns Hopkins has set the pace, the least that the inferior universities and schools can do is to follow after as fast as possible. I look upon the opening of this college as marking the greatest epoch in the history of woman's education in our country. It has for ever established the status of training of the woman doctor of the United States. Now we may have, if we will, the highest possible teaching. From the foregoing it is conclusive that I am convinced of co-education. More and more is the practice of medicine becoming specialised, and it is a question if our excessive specialisation is an unmixed good, but the study of medicine is, and ever must be, a united whole, dealing with man as a unit in relation to everything within and about him. There is but one way to study this great problem—there can be no man method, no woman method; upon the principles of the highest economy and ethics, co-education is desirable.

In my country all who graduate from medical schools receive the degree of M.D., and notwithstanding all the opprobrium of the flimsy A.M. degree, it is an unwritten law amongst us that the value of the degree *depends*—while before the law all are equal, before the profession they are very unequal. The lines are severely drawn, and only one of the most commanding talent can live down the diploma of a school below the standard of the profession. The graduates who can add to their M.D. the degree of A.M., A.B. or Ph.D., outrank their fellow doctors who have taken no liberal degree. In my judgment one of these qualifications should be a pre-requisite in man or woman simply as an assurance of sufficient mental discipline for the acquirement of a learned profession. If these liberal degrees carry with them one year's special training in laboratory work, then a four years' undergraduate course should be a sufficient preparation for the degree M.D. Were I to write volumes upon qualifications I could add nothing; candidates must be fitted, not unfitted, for their career. There may be a question as to the proportion of time in these four years to be divided between the laboratory work and the clinical work. There is always a dividing-line between theory and

practice. Some minds naturally are theoretical, others practical. Americans are accused of the latter. As an eminent practitioner said to me, "Give me a German doctor to find out what is the matter with me after I am dead, but give me a live Yankee to keep me from dying." How unlike our French delegate! The other interpretation of qualifications refers to the personal fitness of the individual. Volumes could be written upon this side of the question, but as this interpretation was not the one intended by the proposer, I dismiss it by saying that it is only the exceptional man or woman who has the personal fitness, physically, mentally, and especially morally, to enter the profession. There is scarcely a limit to the ethical side of this question. There are two classes of women which I should like to see excluded from medical degrees. One is the coarse, vulgar type, who treats sacred things as a joke; the other is the eternally feminine creature who begs privileges and cuts corners because she is a woman, and who can never reach ideals because she is flattered and satisfied to have done "so much for a woman," as the phrase goes.

Women are asking for scientific training because it is the decree of the ages—this is the epoch that has forced medical science to the front, and given leisure to women wherein to study. She must admit the hand of Providence in the preparation of, or in the allowing of the preparation of, so much material for the practical application of the art of medicine. I do not for one moment admit that woman's medical horizon should be limited by the diseases of women. The limitation of a whole sex to one class of diseases would be followed by professional degeneracy.

There is no reason against and every reason for the highest training attainable as the standard for women. The statistics gathered by the Collegiate Alumnae Association prove conclusively that the higher education does not impair the health, nor do "athletic women die of nervous prostration or cancer." Co-education is best upon the ground of both economy and ethics, of which economy is only a part. While women patients and women nurses are a part of college facilities, women students have an undeniable right to these facilities.

To my mind we shall surrender the ground we have gained if we do not take advantage of the distinguished institutions that are now open to us.

Women doctors should unite the world over through their *alumnae* associations against the forces that tend to degrade the standard, viz., the study of medicine in irregular colleges—the

overwhelming proportion of irregular to the regular women students is cause for alarm in our ranks.

Then the mediæval midwife must not be allowed to misrepresent the women of a learned profession. This pernicious survival should be supplanted by the trained obstetrical nurse.

Now that all the schools of distinction are open to women in my country, the next step is the establishment of women upon the teaching staff of these schools.

It is not desirable that all, or even half, the professorships should be held by women, even were such a condition possible, but a fair number should be found in every faculty. Within the past year two of our university schools have given clinical professorships in obstetrics to two of our young women doctors, and the young men students are unanimously in favour of the innovation. It is my observation that the young man student is wonderfully like his professor as regards his attitude toward women.

Hospital appointments for women are still too meagre; some of our States oblige all the insane asylums to employ at least one woman on the staff. Women are taxed for the support of all public hospitals in our country, but they have never made any united effort at representation upon the staff of these hospitals. We are admitted to all the medical societies excepting the Gynæcological—a strange bit of irony!

There is also much to be done in the way of securing a more just division of funds for undergraduates and endowed fellowships. In our last census women received but one-third of undergraduate funds, and but one-fifth of endowed fellowships.

Finally, it is devoutly to be wished that one of the results of this and other International meetings shall be to establish a uniform medical degree for all civilised countries, and thus hasten the time when medical science shall perfect the race.

DISCUSSION.

Dr. Poznansky-Garfield (Russia).

THE movement on behalf of higher education and professional training of women in Russia received its first impulse at a Congress of Naturalists, in 1868, which showed our women that their education had not fitted them to follow the lectures with profit. In consequence, a petition was drawn up by Mrs. Conradi, the pioneer of higher education among Russian

women. This petition was then addressed to Government, and signed by 400 women, under the leadership of Professor Bekstoffs, of the University of St. Petersburg; and the ladies, Mrs. Trubuskoff, Mrs. Stasoff, Mrs. Filosofoff, Mrs. Milutine, and Mrs. Woronine. At the time the programme for such university extension classes was being drawn up, the movement attracted the hearty and outspoken sympathy of John Stuart Mill, André Leo, and Miss Butler.

In due course Count Tolstoy, the then Minister of Public Instruction, granted permission to institute public evening classes, held by professors of our university, to which students of both sexes were admitted upon payment of a small fee. These lectures are still extant, under the name of "Wladimir Evening Classes."

But these classes issued no certificates giving the holders any rights; and consequently Government again received a petition for permission to institute a regularly organised Higher Women's College, which, after the lapse of some years, was granted, and the only institution of that kind in Russia was founded in 1878. The distinguishing feature of all our Russian higher women's colleges is their having been called into existence by private effort, supported by Government, and their being almost self-governing institutions, which gave our sex the opportunity of showing their administrative powers.

The first woman-doctor in Russia was the daughter of a Russian peasant (serf), Mme. Nadeschda Susloff, who took her degree, as Doctor of Medicine, at Zürich, in the year 1867. The year following Mrs. Raschswarof-Rudneff attended, under special conditions (being the only female hearer), the Medical Academy on a grant, generously given by the Orenburg Zemstvo. She finally received the degree of M.D. Then did the wonderful powers of tenacity and endurance of the Russian nature show themselves. With just enough food to keep body and soul together, with the barest amount of clothing, these women devoted themselves to the study of medicine abroad, in order afterwards, for the most part, to lead miserable lives among the wretched peasants in the interior of Russia. But many have had a pleasanter lot in life. General Milutine, Minister of War, seeing the vast amount of good a woman is capable of doing, gladly gave the permission, in 1869, for women to study medicine at the Academy of Medicine and Surgery in St. Petersburg. The programme drawn up for this purpose by Professors Rudneff, Tarnowsky, and Mr. Kosloff was accepted in principle, but the opening of these medical

lectures was put off till adequate provision had been made for their expenses.

About the same time in Siberia, two noble-minded women, Miss Rodstwennaïa and her mother, conjointly with a small circle of young men and women, determined to invest their first earnings in some lucrative undertaking for the benefit of a future university for women. This scheme proved a failure ; but the greater part of the capital, about 50,000 roubles belonging to Miss Rodstwennaïa, was, in 1872, removed from the investment and offered to the Minister of War, with the request that it should be used towards establishing medical lectures for women at the Academy of Medicine and Surgery in St. Petersburg. The Minister of War, General Milutine, obtained the Imperial permission to open such an institution as an experiment, giving women the right, after a four years' study, to the degree of "qualified midwives," with the grade of "leech," but with several important restrictions in general medical practice.

Our Emperor, Nicholas II., also proved a good friend to the cause of women doctors, and in February, 1897, gave 65,000 roubles (between six and seven thousand pounds), to buy the ground for the Home, in connection with this "Institution," and the institute itself he has endowed with the sum of 100,000 roubles.

At the opening of the School of Medicine, 264 candidates entered their names, of whom only 188 were accepted ; 75 among them had passed the Higher Women's courses of lectures and the school for training doctors' assistants. The average age of the hearers is 23 ; 90 per cent. belong to the Greek-Orthodox Church, 7 per cent. to the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, and only 3 per cent. (this percentage is regulated by law) of Jewesses and Mohammedans. The pecuniary means of these young women are very small. Life in St. Petersburg is very expensive, and we must reckon the costs for each person at from 360 to 400 roubles, that is, £35 to £40 a year, including the hearer's fee. Many young students come to St. Petersburg quite without means, in the hope of finding work, which is very difficult to get. The Female Students' Benevolent Society paid for 65 students at the School of Medicine during the first year ; but its funds are not large enough to do that always.

In 1898 our present Emperor, Nicholas II., equalised the rights of women doctors, and they now have the same rights as men doctors. In May, 1898, was published the "Official

Register" for women doctors, and the terms are the same in every respect as those for men doctors. Their children are entitled to a pension on becoming orphans, and should they lose both parents, who have been entitled to a pension, the children receive a large part of those pensions.

Dr. Tiburtius (Germany) said, that on the occasion of her visit to New York she was so impressed with the work done by women in dispensaries there that she asked herself the question, "Why cannot something like this be done in Berlin?" When she returned to Europe she proceeded to endeavour to put her ideas into execution; but she encountered great difficulties. The authorities at first seemed to think that women practitioners were only quacks; but by degrees prejudice was so far overcome as to allow of the establishment of a dispensary in Berlin where over 30,000 poor people had received substantial medical benefit. Germany, although slow to take up new ideas, had certainly not done amiss in the direction indicated.

Dr. Aletta Jacobs (Holland) said, with a feeling of justifiable pride, that in her native land women were free to enter as students at all the colleges of the universities, and attend the lectures given there. Their course of study was not restrained by even the slightest impediments.

Nevertheless, for a long time she was the only lady doctor in the country. The second did not come until 1887, then many followed soon, so that at the present moment Holland counted ten graduated female doctors, and many girls had entered as students in their four universities, three of which are Government institutions, and one, viz., Amsterdam, a municipal establishment.

It was noteworthy that the lady doctors in Holland enjoy the esteem and the confidence of the general public, ensuring to most of them a fairly wide and lucrative practice. Some of them carry on medical practice in its fullest scope; a few of them limit themselves to gynaecology and obstetrics, whilst one of them is an ophthalmologist, and another principally acts as children's physician. Lady doctors are admitted as ordinary members of all the societies and clubs of gentlemen doctors and treated on a footing of equality; of one of these societies, the Dutch Gynaecological Society, the secretary is a lady.

The Town Council of Amsterdam had this year passed a resolution of the greatest importance to lady doctors, which has already been carried into effect. Owing to the ever-increasing

number of municipal officials and employees, the council decided to appoint three municipal doctors for their medical examination, and to control them in case of illness, one of these three to be a lady doctor for the female employees. She has been nominated on the same condition as her male colleagues. We rejoice at this appointment by the authorities, not only as an acknowledgment on their part of equal claims, but also of equal remuneration for services performed.

Women's Work as Doctors in Hospitals, in Private Practice, and under Government.

Dr. Kosakevitch Stefanofakaia (Russia).

COMPLETE equality of women and men doctors will soon be established in Russia, for women who could before only receive the degree of M.B. will now be allowed that of M.D., which affects the service in the hospitals and of course the pay. But the women had to fight hard for these privileges. Even after twenty years to receive so much has required great sacrifices on their part—inconstant fighting, self-devoted, energy, and patient persevering work, often under very difficult circumstances. They had not alone to fight against every kind of obstacle, but to win the confidence of the public, as they worked.

Women doctors in the country have to work among patients of both sexes; they have children of all ages under their care, and every sort of disease. This work in the Zemstvo shows that women deal very successfully even with those specialities of medicine for which it seemed they had less capacity. They are skilful surgeons, oculists, accoucheuses, etc. And, even in the very roughest surroundings, under great disadvantages, they successfully operate—according to the statistics in the Zemstvo medical reports and journals.

In fact, the work of the women doctors in the interior has been so successful that in the Zemstvo Councils they have voted bursaries to the Medical School of Women and petitioned the Government to uphold the school for the sake of the rural populace, who welcome the women doctors so heartily.

For this hard work both men and women doctors receive very poor pay.

As to the work of the women doctors in the towns, we know more of its detail in St. Petersburg than elsewhere. In St. Petersburg they practise as hospital doctors, municipal doctors, and doctors for the city schools; and as head doctors, in the little city hospitals for women in child-birth. To take 28 of the St. Petersburg hospitals, we find there are in all about 55 women doctors on duty, 35 of whom are on recognised service by appointment of the various civil and charitable governing bodies.

In the quality of municipal doctors women are very popular. They are appointed for the treatment of the very poorest part of the population. The town is divided into 36 districts, and 15 of these districts are under the management of as many women doctors. Their duties are both difficult and complicated; every day, without exception, they being obliged to hold the Dispensary in their own houses without any aid whatsoever and to receive there men, women, and children.

Many of the women doctors in St. Petersburg have a large private practice in every grade of society. They take up different specialities—the greater part naturally in women's and children's diseases. There are several specialists amongst them for mental and nervous diseases: one, a well-known oculist (Mme. Ernroth), and one with a widespread practice for syphilis and diseases of the skin (Mme. Eltzine). There is one private hospital entirely managed by women doctors in St. Petersburg (Dr. Poznansky and Dr. Philimonoff); an institute for the training and cure of weak-minded and imbecile children, under the management of a woman doctor and her husband (Doctors Maliareffsky); and an establishment for massage, belonging to a woman doctor (Dr. Zaliessoff).

As to the work of the women doctors in the provincial towns, most of them had private practice, and in the larger towns made very comfortable incomes.

With regard to the woman doctor in her family relations, we have only statistics of 400 of them in this respect. Of unmarried doctors there are 185, of married 191; the latter with the addition of 24 widows having a total of 303 children. The family life therefore does not suffer; in many cases the mother is the sole support of her children.

Nearly ten years ago the women doctors in St. Petersburg founded a society for Mutual Moral and Material Aid. This society now numbers 230 members scattered throughout the

Empire. It lends money without interest to such as are in temporary difficulties, and last year it organised a pension fund. This society forms a centre round which its members gather for consultation on different questions of professional interest.

In conclusion, we may say that the Russian women doctors have by their work given the possibility to future generations to advance still further on the road to independence first opened up by them.

The Medical Training of Women in Sweden.

Dr. Ellen Sandelin, M.D. (Sweden).

It is a remarkable fact that in Sweden women were admitted to the universities without any preceding agitation, the initiative having been taken quite spontaneously by the Diet and the Government. As early as 1865, C. J. Svenssén, a member of the Diet, moved that women should be entitled to admittance at the universities, not only as undergraduates, but also to graduate as doctors of philosophy and medicine, and pass examinations in jurisprudence. The Bill was received favourably by the Diet, and in an address to the King it was stated "that a woman should, as a general rule, have access to all those appointments from which she be not debarred by Swedish law; consequently opportunities should be offered her of passing the necessary examinations for such appointments." The measure was now launched; and after the question had been still further ventilated, a Royal Ordinance was issued, in 1870, by which women obtained a right to matriculate, to pursue medical studies, graduate in medical degrees at the universities, and practise as physicians.

In 1873 Upsala University admitted its first female student of medicine, as Fröken Hildegard Björck was then enrolled. In 1879 she passed her Bachelor of Medicine examination, but was obliged, after a few years, to give up studying owing to her deafness. Our first lady doctor did not appear until 1888, when Fröken Carolina Widerström passed her examinations for the degree of Licentiate, or Doctor of Medicine, at the Royal Medical-Surgical College of Stockholm. In 1892 the same examinations were taken at Lund by Fröken Hedda Anderson, in 1896 at Stockholm by Fröken Maria Folkesson;

in 1897 by Anna Stecksén, Ellen Sandelin, and Thora Granström; in 1898 by Sophie Holmgren, Anna Ahlström, Sigrid Molander, and Hanna Christer Nilson; so Sweden now has ten fully fledged female doctors.

At the present time twenty-eight women are studying medicine; and, all in all, forty-six have pursued medical studies.

The lady doctors have all settled in towns: five in Stockholm, two in Gottenborg, one in Malmö, one in Helsingborg, and one in Wisby (Gothland).

Most of Sweden's female physicians have devoted themselves to gynæcology, either exclusively, or in addition to one or several other subjects.

Of those living in Stockholm, one practises exclusively as a gynæcologist; two gynæcology and internal diseases; and one gynæcology, pediatrics, and obstetrics.

Of those living at Gottenborg, one practises in gynæcology, and the other in gynæcology and diseases of the stomach and intestines.

Those settled in Malmö, Helsingborg, and Wisby do not state their speciality, though their practice is chiefly gynæcological.

One of our lady doctors—Stecksén—became in 1897 assistant teacher at the Pathological Anatomical Department of the Royal Medical-Surgical College in Stockholm; and she has since 1898 been abroad, making scientific researches in hygiene, bacteriology, and pathology in Munich, Tübingen, and at the Institute Pasteur in Paris, and is at present engaged in writing a medical work.

The time taken by medical students for their course of study has varied from seven, eight, ten to thirteen years.

Neither under Government nor under any public corporation can a lady doctor receive an appointment, in consequence of legal obstacles that still exist. In the Royal Enactment of June 3, 1872, it is stated that the King deems "that, as a general rule, there are obstacles to the appointment of a woman in public service."

I must not forget to mention another proof of the equality existing between the male and female physicians in Sweden—namely, that lady doctors have the same privilege as gentlemen of being proposed and elected to membership of the Swedish Association of Physicians and Surgeons. At present there are six female members in this association, and they have the right of taking part in the discussions held. Admission is also given us ladies to every medical congress held in Sweden.

There are several endowment funds for the education of female physicians in Sweden. The first foundation was given to Upsala University by the authoress Lotten v. Kramer. In 1873 the sum of 15,000 kronor* was given by Frökerne H. and A. Hierta to the Medical Institute of Stockholm, and from this fund three stipendiums are annually bestowed. In 1892 "Stiftelsen Lars Hiertas minne," under the denomination Fru Wilhelmina Hierta's Foundation, gave to each of the Universities of Upsala and Lund the sum of 6,000 kronor. An anonymous donor in 1899 presented Fredrika Bremer's Association in Stockholm with 25,000 kronor; two stipendiums are annually paid therefrom. A travelling stipendium has once been awarded from this fund.

These foundations are neither few nor small considering our circumstances and the comparatively small number of students. On the contrary, they form a proof of the deep interest felt in the matter by our people, and show that the Swedes are fully aware of the importance of lady doctors to their sex.

Finally, with regard to the right of a woman to become a doctor of medicine, there is now scarcely more than one opinion. It is not only a question of ordinary human rights, of woman's equality with man, of our right to study and work among the community, in the spheres where we may possess capacity and gifts; but another, and far more important, matter is involved. Womankind forms more than half the human race; and, on the whole, it may be said that about half of the sick are women. In more than one respect it is but just and proper that this large female portion of suffering humanity should be allowed an opportunity of placing their case in the hands of a lady doctor. A woman can best comprehend the psychical and sentient life of other women. In various diseases it must be less repugnant for a woman to confide in a lady doctor. Many are the female patients who bless the reform that has opened to their sisters the career of medicine and the opportunity of practising as a physician. There is every reason to count this reform among the grand deeds of humanity, and as a sign of the progress of mankind in this century now nearing its close. In Sweden, as with her neighbours, Norway, Denmark, and Finland, this reform has been brought about with no opposition whatever from either the Government, the authorities, or from our colleagues. It has from most quarters been greeted with approval, and has been welcomed as a natural sequence in the development of

* One Krona = 1s. 1½d. English money.

humanity and enlightenment. It has fully satisfied all our expectations. It has a grand future and, even in those countries where as yet it has not been able to make headway, it will assuredly soon gain the victory.

DISCUSSION.

Mrs. Scharlieb, M.D. (Great Britain), in giving some information as to the position of women in hospitals, in private practice and under Government, pointed out that in Great Britain there were several hospitals entirely administered by women. One of these, the New Hospital for Women, was founded by Mrs. Garrett Anderson, and she trusted that the good traditions of that lady would come to them. They had a children's department, a maternity department, and so on. Then on the south of London, Miss Annie McCall had a similar institution. At Canning Town, Stockwell, Blackfriars, and other suburbs, women were acting as officers, while in Liverpool, Bristol, Manchester, Dublin, and Edinburgh ladies were also doing good work in hospitals. Besides the voluntary hospitals there were the institutions worked by Government, such as infirmaries. Women in private practice, she ventured to say, were doing well and would like to do even better. Turning to India, she found that some years ago there were no women doctors there. She was one of the first four women to receive medical training in India; and to give an idea of the distance between them, she would state that while she was in Madras her nearest colleague, Miss Peachey, was in Bombay—thus rendering any consultations a practical impossibility. In India, unlike England, most hospital officers were paid officials, for it was necessary there for the Government to pay for such services. Besides the qualified M.D.'s there were a large number of trained assistants, including several Hindoo and Mohammedan women. This was well, but it was quite right that the chiefs should be European women, as, although native women had done good work at the time of the plague, Mohammedan women were not good at organisation. A number of Englishwomen also went out some time ago to help in dealing with the plague cases, and no doubt they would do so again if the necessity arose. Seeing, then, that women doctors were prized in so many civilised countries, and especially in India, English women should take care that the last-named country at least was kept supplied with a class of women which had proved of such value to her in the past.

Dr. Gertrude Walker (Philadelphia, U.S.A.), said that the history of the women's medical movement in America was marked with much trial, but at the present day it was looked upon as a proof that women were thoroughly worthy of a place as medical practitioners. The opportunities afforded for study to medical women in America were, in most respects, equal to those of men.

Mrs. Wallace Bruce, President of the Society for the Compulsory Registration of Midwives (Great Britain), combated the statement which had been made that the whole field of midwifery is covered by medical men or obstetric nurses. She wished for the sake of many women in poor districts that such were the case, but as a matter of fact many mothers were entrusted to the incapacity of unqualified women calling themselves midwives.

ART.

- (A) ART IN ITS VARIOUS BRANCHES AS
A PROFESSION FOR WOMEN.
- (B) THE SPIRIT OF PURITY IN ART, AND
ITS INFLUENCE ON THE WELL-
BEING OF NATIONS.

SMALL HALL, ST. MARTIN'S TOWN HALL,

TUESDAY, JUNE 27, AFTERNOON.

LADY STANLEY in the chair.

Lady Stanley said the object of the Conference was to advocate earnest inquiry into the ardent pursuit of Art.

Art in its Various Branches as a Profession for Women.

Miss Emily Sartain (United States), Principal Philadelphia School of Design for Women.

As our American cities grow more crowded and competition becomes as strenuous as amid the older civilisations of Europe, the daughters of a household are more inevitably thrust out to assume the burden of their own support. In response to the consequent demand for thorough training, facilities for study have increased and been perfected, with the natural result that

women now rank higher in all arts and other professions, and find more certain opportunities. You are to hear from other speakers of our painters, sculptors, and architects, who have won position and official recognition abroad as well as at home. I am to deal more with the business openings which are growing more numerous every year. The spirit of invention and creative ideality is undoubtedly the leading tendency of our time, in Art as in all fields of intellectual effort. The wave of realism which swept away the shams and trivial conventions and weak sentimentalities of the picture-makers of the preceding school, left us a generation of superior craftsmen who depicted the solid material facts of nature with masterly technique. The impressionists who next captured the popular vogue followed on the same lines of keen, close observation, focussing their attention no longer upon form, but upon the analysis of the fascinating colour qualities of atmosphere and sunshine, the visible effects of the energy of light. The newer training builds still higher, with the same scaffolding of insight into the verity and charm of nature. It relaxes in no wise its exaction of skill in craftsmanship, but it enlarges the vision to cognisance of the image on the inner as well as the outer eye, and awakens early perception and appreciation of the harmonies of line and mass, inherent in nature, which give rhythm and music to the whole. Under such influences it is natural that the arts of design should be stimulated and fostered, and that the illustration of books and magazines should be one of the favourite professions among originaive women who wish to work untrammelled by the limitations and requirements of the loom and other machinery.

In the field of serious dignified artistic illustration, Mary Hallock Foote and Alice Barber Stephens are the torchbearers among women, leading by intrinsic merit as well as by seniority of rank. The former charming novelist-draughtsman has lately restricted her pictorial talent to translating by brush as well as pen the creations of her own brain, illustrating her own stories and novels alone. Some of the newer women in the profession are specialising in the same way; among them a most interesting personality, a young Indian girl in Philadelphia—Miss Angel de Cora, as she has anglicised her name for the reading public. With this interwoven duality of expression she is depicting in our magazines the characteristics of form (as well as of thought and custom) of her race, and her stories are revealing her people to our better knowledge and comprehension. She is proud of her descent, and claims for herself the

name of American, granting it on sufferance to us white interlopers. When her craftsmanship shall be more matured she will give us unique rendering of the Indian type; for it is indisputable that every painter transfers to his sitter the racial characterisation of his own nationality, and heretofore the red man has always been drawn by an alien and generally antagonistic Caucasian. The Smithsonian Institute of Washington, recognising this, has lately commissioned Miss de Cora to paint the portraits of some noted chiefs.

A young girl in New York, from Jamaica—Pamela Smith—is recording in the same literary and pictorial way the folk lore of your English West Indian island. Blanche McManus, the book-cover designer, makes a specialty of writing children's books, which she illustrates with her drawings of quaint little folk, as does Ida Waugh; and in slight variation of this same exclusiveness, the daughters of three of our distinguished novelists—William D. Howells, Edward Eggleston, and George W. Cable—illustrate their fathers' books and no others.

It has been a great gain to the whole American community that that profound poetic thinker and past master of the technique of illustration, Howard Pyle, should have been induced to teach a class of students of both sexes. Violet Oakley, Bertha Day, Charlotte Harding, and many of the most promising younger book illustrators owe him at least part of their technique; though, of course, many proficient women have broken their own stones to make their road. In the free, decisive pen-line of newspaper work also, feminine names are conspicuous; and as the power of money-earning may be taken as a crude test of ability when one has become established in the business world, many would rank high. Miss Aspell's bold drawings appear constantly in the *New York Herald*; Miss Goodwin, in Paris, has her time crowded by syndicate work; Miss Lundborg, in Paris, is kept busy by Californian publishers; and many women at home occupy men's positions on the staff of newspapers; while Sarah Macbeath, Florence Scovel, Jeannette Hope, and others, find profit in making the advertising columns of our great dailies alluring. Some of our illustrators and designers have charge of the department of art criticism and art news of a newspaper, besides carrying on their studio work; thus, Frances Sheaffer, Amy Wolff, and Antoinette Walker.

Without on the covers, as within on the pages in many books, we may enjoy the decorative instinct of women, for all

departments of book-making seem attractive to them. Even in bookbinding and the tooling of leather covers there are two women professionals—the Misses Pratt, pupils of Miss Nordhoff, who studied for years with your Cobden Sanderson. Miss Mabel Cook, who studied artistic binding in Paris, is now attached to the Astor Library as book-surgeon, to repair the torn pages, the dislocated covers, and all sorts of dilapidations resulting from the wear and tear of public use. The book-cover designer, as a rule, is not regularly employed by one publication firm; for while the publisher's effort is continually towards some novel idea, yet there is an unspoken theory and a personality in each house which is bound to affect the work of a salaried draughtsman so that it is apt to become stereotyped. There is but one exception to this rule in the three largest Eastern cities of which I am cognisant. Mrs. Sarah Whitman is titular designer to Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Blanche McManus, who is distinguished by her strong, highly-original work, will probably become another exception, for she has just married a publisher. Mrs. Whitman loves the symbolic and conventional to the point of not even approving of illustrations in books. She was a pioneer in the profession, as was also Alice Morse, now Mrs. Earle, who browsed in the wonderful art library of the Tiffany Company while she was designing for them, and afterwards for a time took exclusive charge of Putnam's covers. Margaret Armstrong, an artist's daughter, and sister of Helen Maitland Armstrong, the decorator, stained-glass designer, and illustrator, does most of Scribners' work, as Sarah MacConnell does Appleton's; but they are not committed to them, and the designs are submitted on approval. There is also a firm of decorative designers, the moiety of which is a Miss Lee, who have made a great business success of their covers, which they design directly upon the cloth. They employ many women, to whom it is said they pay small salaries. The results are workman-like, and although the publishers complain of the monotony of their ideas they accept them.

Many of the recognised professionals, however, in this as in other branches, are free-lances, who meet whatever demand may chance to arise; and most of our big studio buildings contain Bohemian colonies of bachelor-maids—Bohemian in charming freedom and naturalness, not in unconventional latitude of behaviour. Besides the thirty-odd women who have made a name by their work in the stamping of cloth bindings, there is a numerous band whose designs are to be

printed on paper covers, either in black-and-white or in colours; these last being akin respectively to the illustrators and to the poster-makers. Posters, by the way, gave solid reputation and secure business results to at least half a dozen of the women who tried them. Ethel Reed, for example, has done work which will be remembered. Loving beauty, she followed in the wake of Grasset rather than of Beardsley, and sought to attract by harmony instead of exciting by absurdity. The public is now satiated with the overdone grotesque poster, and though artists have profited by this, as by other ephemeral opportunities, the effort is to gain foothold in some enduring business which meets a permanent trade demand.

It is natural that the exquisite colour-sense of women should find congenial employment in designing for embroideries, as well as in plying the needle for their fabrication; and Emily Quillard bends her talents to the service of a noted embroidery firm, while Mrs. Candace Wheeler, also of New York, conducts a great designing and decorating business, which creates embroidered curtains and portieres as satisfying to the artistic eye as the old Japanese and Chinese needlework for the adornment of temples or idol-cars.

The home throughout, most fittingly, has offered opportunity to women, from the architectural construction (of which you will hear from other speakers) to the mural decoration, the upholstering and stained glass. As in England, there are in most of our large towns firms of interior decorators composed of women, who undertake the entire fitting-up of a house. A great many young girls have lately taken up the study, so that there will soon be even more in the field. An English pupil of my own school, Mrs. Priestman, introduced into Philadelphia your London's peciality of "advisory" decorators, women who for a fixed fee will go shopping with a householder to guide with their taste the choice of paper and furniture coverings. Mrs. Priestman's partner, Elizabeth Abel, is a practical stained-glass worker, and when their now thriving business of interior decoration was still an infant she used to cut and lead the glass with her own hands, as well as furnish the designs. Mrs. Sweeney is also a practical worker, employing a number of men for the manual production of the many church windows she turns out each year, and Sarah Bryant to assist her in their design. Several married artists are their husbands' coadjutors in successful firms—notably Mrs. Ella Condon Lamb and Mrs. Pauline Imley Maclean. Helen Maitland Armstrong designs for her father, who is an artist as well as a manufacturer of

stained glass. Apart from the mechanical difficulties, which can be conquered by practice, glass is the most tempting of mediums for the artist. The transmitted light is the nearest approach possible to the pure prismatic rays, and the painter's pigments are dull, earthy tones beside them. You may not know that our American glass is essentially different from the English. Our atmosphere is clear, our sunshine brilliant, allowing the modification of a tint, and even the production of a *chiaroscuro* by actual diminution of light through what is called "plating"; that is, superposing several sheets of glass one upon the other. A number of talented women are doing artistic glass work in the employ of other artists.

The Rookwood potteries of Cincinnati have world-wide reputation, and need no comment. That beautiful work owes its excellence to the experiments of Miss McLaughlin.

Mural painting naturally associates itself in the mind with stained glass. The present burst of creative energy has culminated in a wave of decoration among us, from the stately reserve of the Boston Library and the gorgeous effulgence of colour in the Washington Congressional Library to the ornate ceilings and friezes of the Waldorf-Astoria. No woman's name is signed to these, though her larger opportunity will come later. Katherine Greatorox and other women have painted artistic friezes in hotels; Helen Armstrong has decorated a corridor in the Lawyers' Club of New York; Blanche Ostertag, of Chicago, has specialised in designing large historical cartoons in flat tones of colour to be printed for schoolroom decoration; and at the World's Fair of 1893 Anna Lea Merritt, Mary Cassatt, Sarah Dodson, Gabrielle Clements, Amanda Brewster Sewell and others, showed their decorative ability in figure panels. The walls of an English church have received a fine fresco from the brush of Mrs. Merritt. Gabrielle Clements has decorated the walls of the New Century Club of Philadelphia, and has just finished her altar-piece for a Maryland church, "Oh, praise ye the Lord, all ye His angels," a rich harmony of greens and browns with gold; Anita Sargent and Marianna Sloan will soon have installed their reredos in place in the Church of the Annunciation, Philadelphia.

All this artistic activity contradicts the pessimism of the Chicago novelist, Lillian Bell, who asserts that the influence of our Puritan ancestor is still crippling our art and driving our artists to Europe. She instances that Boston has rejected one of the masterpieces of a genius because it is a nude; that a magazine which never permits an artist to picture in its

pages a woman in a *décolletée* gown circulates three-quarters of a million copies in a month; and that the serial publication of "Trilby" caused the circulation of a magazine to diminish by several thousands. But we cannot at once measure the growth of art appreciation in a community by the status called public opinion. It takes long for new ideas to percolate through the mass, but the vital germ of artistic thought has quickened, and New York is fast becoming an art centre.

In my own city of Philadelphia the tenets of her Quaker founders have long exercised repressive influence upon all forms of esthetic development, but recently she is making a new record, in revolt probably against the early rigidity of her colourless existence. Mr. Pyle's is only one of three successful classes in composition and illustration, one in my own school, all doing work which excites the admiration of experts. Of women artists especially, in all branches of art and industrial art, Philadelphia's production is remarkable. Besides Miss Beaux, Mrs. Stephens, Miss Lippincott, and many others, whom she keeps at home, she lends to England her successful artist, portrait painter, mural painter, and etcher—Anna Lea Merritt, and also Sarah Dodson; she is represented in Paris by Mary Cassatt, ranked as a worthy *confrère* by Degas, Raffaelli, and others of the newest school of art, whose delicious subtle dry-points and etchings—in black-and-white and in Japanese-like colour—reveal no less than her canvasses, her marked individuality and her extraordinary artistic temperament.

Some of Philadelphia's women—Mathilde Weil, Eva Watson, and Miss Van Buren—have started successfully in photography, a new departure in America, following in the wake of your English Mrs. Cameron in producing the most artistic results. Though they have not won the medal of the Viceroy of India, as did Miss Clarkson of New York State, and differ in kind, not degree, from Mrs. Kasebier's line in New York, yet their photographs are most original and painter-like. Still more curiously, Philadelphia can claim the one successful American woman in the profession of art-expert and fine-art dealer, Sara Hallowell, who is of direct Quaker descent. She began by making a financial success of the annual exhibitions of the Institute of Chicago, and later was in charge of the loan exhibit of the Columbian World's Fair. She was selected for the office as the most competent, and as the most acceptable to the picture-collectors of the country, holding their confidence as an intelligent caretaker of the valuable works

entrusted to her custody. She is now living in Paris, pursuing there her unique profession of picture dealer.

The figure etchings of Miss Cassatt and those of Mrs. Merritt are of course well known to you. I believe that they are both members of your Painter-Etcher Society of London. I know with certainty that the one woman who is an Original Fellow of the Society is an American, Mary Nimmo Moran. She was elected upon the merit of the six landscapes she sent to their first exhibition in 1881, the only woman among a total of sixty-five Original Fellows of all nationalities. There are many fine landscape etchers among us: Blanche Dillaye, Edith Getchell, Florence Este, Gabrielle Clements, and others, but as a profession the art is no longer profitable. It had once an all-absorbing vogue, but it was swamped by the flood of purely commercial work evoked, as it were, like fungi over night by the attractive financial returns. Wood-engraving, like etching, has been crowded to the wall, and therefore I have dropped both branches from my school. There are two extremely fine women artists in the ranks of wood-engraving, Catherine A. Powell and Edith Cooper, expert in all the resources of the art in its highest American development, both of whom are members of the New York Society of Wood-Engravers, and both of whom received medals at the World's Fair in 1893. Like etching, wood-engraving no longer entices new votaries by the large pecuniary rewards which used to crown high merit. The field it formerly occupied has been usurped by the numerous cheaper processes of photo-engraving. I now speak of both branches simply as a *business*, for that is the phase of all the arts which my paper is to consider. A great artist may select any medium of expression, the lithographer's crayon, the etcher's point, the Japanese colour-painter's methods; his personality transfuses itself into his handling of his medium, and lifts it out of the commonplace. It is of interest that the wives of two of our scientists made themselves expert in steel-engraving and in wood-engraving with the unique motive that their husbands' scientific books might be faithfully and intelligently illustrated. Mrs. Comstock engraves moths and butterflies exquisitely.

Before leaving the subject I may say that in mezzotint engraving I am the sole American representative. I have done many plates in the intervals of portrait painting, having been well trained by my father, who in his youth studied the art here in London.

The initiative has just been taken in an entirely new and

peculiar direction, novel at least for women, or among artists precedent is furnished by Da Vinci and other great men of the Renaissance. Two women artists, Elizabeth Burton and Marianna Sloan, have been engaged to superintend the arrangement of the floats for a street pageant in Washington. The next step will be the theatre (where women already design the dresses), to arrange colour effects and design the stage-pictures in every detail, costumes, grouping, scenery, and so forth, as Burne-Jones, Abbey, Alma Tadema, and others have done. Meanwhile, all sorts of beautiful objects are being designed by women, silver-ware, jewellery, the ornamentation of watch-cases, &c.

There remains for mention a wide field of activity in which many women are working with profit, but more silently, more inconspicuously than those of whom I have spoken, for their results come before the public transmuted by machinery and unconnected with their names. I mean practical designing for the trade. In all the printed fabrics, the many drapery materials, wall-paper, oilcloths, &c., there are numerous women earning comfortable livelihoods, and also in many branches of textile work, carpets of various weaves, lace curtains, tablecloths, fringes, horse blankets, and so forth.

The training for this practical design is arduous, for the artistic principles of harmony and composition must be carried out with a firm hand and with artistic management of colour, yet the free flow of fancy must be subservient to the rigid exactions of the machinery. Moreover, thorough knowledge of the processes must produce the best results with the least expenditure. A slight difference of arrangement or excess of detail in a pattern may, without adding much to its effectiveness, pile up the cost of manufacture very quickly. Each additional colour used also increases the expense. A good deal of paying work is brought to our students by manufacturers who ask us to take their French sample of fifteen or twenty colours, and reproduce it for them simplified, with as little loss of beauty as possible, to print with eight or ten rollers. Your great statesman said that "adulteration is a form of competition," and this kind of plagiarism excuses itself on the same plea. At any rate it is excellent as well as profitable practice for our students, who execute the orders without feeling called upon to assume the responsibility of deciding on its morality.

There are not many women regularly employed as head-designers in wall-paper factories, in fact, in any kind of factory. Yet it is a good business, for many firms in this as in other

branches of manufacture depend largely for new ideas upon the supply from outside, and buy freely from the designs submitted on approval. A manufacturer told us recently that throughout the United States there were only three women designers holding this responsible position in wall-paper factories, the third being Bertha Black, whom he had just induced by a handsome salary to leave our school to accept the position of his head designer. This appointment was especially complimentary as his factory is in New York city, where he had a liberal supply of men and women of the profession soliciting the position.

A second was Miss George, of New York. I do not know where she began her study, but she went later to Paris to further improve her work, supplying her firm with designs while she was away, as does also Miss Bullis, still in Paris. On Miss George's return several rival houses offered large inducements for the exclusive right to her work.

In textile designing the problems are even more intricate and difficult. The designer for Jacquard work must understand not only what is necessary for artistic printed work, but the weave and construction of the fabric as well. Often the design regulates the construction, as in a two-ply ingrain carpet, where two different cloths are interwoven in places by interchange of warp and filling. A manufacturer would reject as unpractical a handsome pattern which would result in long floats and consequent loosely woven material.

Each kind of machine has its own peculiarities that must be mastered before a design for it can be available. In Brussels, and in some styles of upholstery goods, the limitations of the frames and shuttles tax the ingenuity of the designer in the distribution of her colours. A five-framed Brussels, for instance, will permit of only five colours in a vertical line, and to avoid obtrusive evidence of this by streaks requires much skill; but notwithstanding all the obstacles, women have the courage to take up the work. Miss Lent is with a commission house in New York, furnishing designs and analysing the weaves and the stock of the cotton goods the firm handles. We have recently placed three girls in the designing room of a rug mill, one in a lace curtain factory, and another, Ellen Lloyd, as head-designer in a woollen mill, in a branch of harness work, in which no woman has ever before been thus employed, where the most utilitarian questions must be considered with her designs for dress goods, men's suitings and trouserings, &c. She must designate the yarn to be used, its size, colour,

stock, and amount, and sometimes is called upon to reproduce a good firm fabric at about one-third of the price of the sample, manipulating the stock of the yarn and cutting the texture accordingly. She is the pioneer in the work, and soon there will be pioneers advancing into other branches. In Paris, the principal of one of the admirable *Ecoles Professionnelles des Femmes* told me her school did not train girls to design for mills because they could get no employment. As Anglo-Saxons, we do not thus accept the inevitable. We feel sure that if an able woman is thoroughly prepared the closed way will open out before her.

I used to have great difficulty in securing as instructors designers who would impart all they knew, down to the last mystery in the remotest by-path of the business, until I secured a competent woman, one of our own graduates, Florence Einstein, who had gone out into the trade with eyes open and mind alert. An authority in New York said that in book-binding no woman had ever been thoroughly instructed to the ultimate resources of the art, because the Trades Union forbade its members to do it. He said that Miss Nordhoff was not taught everything, although she studied in England where the trade unions are less strict. It is the employees in a mill who resist the instruction of women with stolid protest. Some heedless ones of our sex have unfortunately given men good reason for their objection by breaking down the market rates. Lately, when our students sent some drapery-silk designs to a firm in New York, they learned that students of industrial art over there were furnishing them at one-quarter the regular price. An old French artist told me that in Paris the painting of fans used to be a profitable business until women took it up, and then a man could no longer support his family on his earnings unless his signature was known to the public, and could command a price.

All the women of whom I have spoken, however, have learned to place proper value upon their own trained ability. They know they are in a profession to stay; they are self-respecting as wage-earners and as artists; and they meet all fellow-workers on the same plane irrespective of sex. They have won esteem and hearty encouragement from all, for knowledge and skill has placed them in the ranks of recognised professionals.

Sculpture as a Profession for Women.

Mrs. Adelaide Johnson (United States).

To suggest clearly women's potential relation to Sculpture, we must begin with Art itself. It will be generally conceded that certain vocations find a more ready response in her inherent, essential nature than others. Of these the many departments of Art offer splendid advantages for her rapidly unfolding consciousness and expanding aspiration. The word Art is derived from a root word meaning "being." So to enter this domain is to be embraced by all within the Alpha and Omega of Life, human and divine.

That master of masters, Delsarte, defines Art from a triple point of view, viz., Ontological, Moral, and Organic. "Art is at once the knowledge, the possession, and the free direction of the agents, by virtue of which are revealed life, mind, and soul. It is the application, knowingly appropriated, of the sign to the thing, an application of which the triple object is to move, to convince, and to persuade. Art is not therefore an imitation of nature, but nature illuminated. It elevates in idealising her; it is the synthetic rapport of the beauties scattered through nature to a superior and definite type; it is a work of Love, where shine the Beautiful, the True, and the Good; in one word, it is the search for the eternal type."

With this conception of Art we turn to our more immediate subject, Sculpture, the eldest child of Art.

To those unfamiliar with the studio and its processes, the very mechanics of sculpture seem to form an insuperable barrier to woman from the physical point of view. This point calls for but little attention, since the actual labour of the modelling is not so great as imagined, and in case of large work may be lightened by stronger hands, and in every case is lightened by that inner consciousness of creative bliss that a true artist may know, and that lifts quite beyond all smaller matters in this little existence.

Then the artist in sculpture hardly ever chisels the marble, but learns to utilise as readily the plastic nature and consciousness of the trained skilled one who makes that a life work as the responsive clay is manipulated by the hand to the form in the artist's consciousness.

Surely there must be born a tremendous respect for this branch of our profession when its meaning is realised. Think

for one moment what it is to catch on the wing, as it were, in the unfolding personality that particular thing that indicates the *one*, the *I*, the individuality among the countless millions, and perpetuate it with its experiences, attainments, and mission, or as Charles Kingsley says, "cast it into the eternal sleep of snowy marble," yet by general analysis all bear a similar aspect wearing the same number of features in the same relation to each other, there are always two eyes, one nose, a mouth, etc., located in the face, but 'tis not by analysis or copying that a likeness is found, it is rather by the synthetic search within the depths of Being that the immortal, ever journeying *I*, must be sought with its pressing out into consciousness where the history of the soul is recorded in outer form.

Even more must the artist do, for there are moments when every one is illuminated, when the expression of the petty details of life is absorbed in some sublime conception or noble purpose. It is this radiant moment that we should be able to find, call forth, and hold in the consciousness until translated to the clay. This may be called idealising, but it is simple justice to the effort, the hope of every soul.

It is the receptive, responsive nature of woman that receives in a flash this spirit, and sustains the power that may perceive, grasp, and hold, this ever onward *I*, while her discipline and instructive persistence will enable her to acquire the skill to transfer it to, and translate it in, permanent form.

The realm of sculpture is full of attraction to the ever-yearning, aspiring idealism so dominant in woman, that she often clings to the spell long after realising that the ideal was in her, or at least that it was not there. Here is a beautiful and open field for that inner something that seeks to find and represent some portion of Truth, for, despite the argument often urged—but which cannot be sustained—that the receptive, rather than projective nature of women accounts for their absence hitherto in the creative professions, it has at least been demonstrated that the creative instinct, desire, and capacity in woman is seeking every outlet for human culture and outward expression. This department of art affords infinite opportunity for creative genius and for bearing a heritage of the good, the true, and the beautiful to the world. And though restricted almost entirely to the human form divine, it is unlimited.

The purpose of sculpture, whether in portraiture or representative ideals of divine attributes, is to suggest the virtues, reveal the potentiality of the human soul, and record human life and its experiences in art forms.

The motive of Sculpture is to exalt and uplift the beholder to contemplation of the virtues. To lead to aspiration toward divine qualities and attributes. To aid growth by lessons from the recorded past. This being the purpose and motive of sculpture, it is pre-eminently a calling for the evolution of the finer forces of human life as they exist in woman.

That she has not generally sought it as a field in the past, and that it has not been revealed to her as adaptable to her abilities and inviting to her attention, is not strange, as it is but one of the many professions with that wall almost impregnable—the tyranny of possession by another class—which she has had to scale, and which bounds a domain that had to be entered with untried wings.

Sculpture, then, as a profession for women, is broadening, ennobling, and uplifting to the character, calling forth the profoundest effort for expression in the most lasting and purest form.

And as hitherto woman has never failed in any undertaking whatsoever, but, with fair opportunity in each, has taken the palm, and has purified, dignified, and uplifted every trade, industry, and profession she has entered, and embraced—or 'tis truer to say conquered—for the door of none has been opened for her knocking, her cry of suppressed power calling for birth.

No messenger of welcome came to greet her; rather has she had to literally force her way through and destroy the bulwarks of the tyranny of possession, and enter each as conqueror, though different from all other conquerors; she pillaged not, she destroyed not the works and attainments of those whose realms she entered; but, by adding her own great wealth of capability and power, she has cleansed the atmosphere, extended the vista, and raised each to heights before undreamed.

So, as time, whose judgments are inexorably moral, will prove that the highest moral force will create the greatest works, woman—being the indisputably highest, greatest moral force in the world, the last principle to be recognised, the last class to be freed with liberty to unfold her being—will give the living breath, the truly divine life, to art, and will breathe a new spirit into art creations in the near future that will transcend the past in that sacred realm of "Art of which the beginning and the end are in God, and of which the genesis upon this earth remounts to the cradle of creation."

"Art, that leads the march of civilisation,
Art that seeks the spark divine in every human breast,
And fans the nascent flame in every age."

Architecture.

Miss Clotilde Brewster, Architect (Great Britain).

At the present moment women architects are, in Europe at least, but a handful—a small handful. It is by no means unpleasant to be one of the few. An architect is a cross between the human and the monkey species; it is a very agile creature that spends its time on ladders and rafters, bounding from rung to rung or joist to joist, and swarming up pipes with the assistance of all the prehensile organs that nature may have endowed it with. Further, it is a creature that swears at workmen—for without swearing how is it possible to exercise any influence? And it dirties its hands and its clothes. “Let women furnish and embellish our homes; they may go as far as interior decoration: building must be left to men.”

Truth, however, forces me to declare that no extraordinary agility is necessary in my profession, that violent language is not of material assistance in it, and that it is possible to plan and design a house, to draw up the specifications, and see that the work is properly executed without rolling head over heels in mortar, or otherwise disfiguring one's self.

The assertion that interior decoration may be a suitable study for women, but that men should build the houses is most heretical. Properly speaking, decoration ought not to be an afterthought.

And the principle that, when possible the interior as well as the exterior ornamentation of a building should be thought out simultaneously with its structure, should be carried out. The happy adaptation in a house of each part to every other and of the details to the whole, its *unity*, or as learned people call it, its *organic* unity, ought not to be left to chance as the possibly happy result of good taste making the best of a difficult job. It should be there from the very beginning. And I urge that if decoration is a suitable field for women, building should likewise be so; provided of course they have the capacity—which point must be proved by deeds, not by words. It might even be claimed that, given this desirable interdependency of structure and decoration, women are particularly qualified for architectural work. Exterior necessities such as determined the shape and character of feudal strongholds weigh on us far less heavily than on our fore-

fathers, whilst interior considerations of convenience, comfort, and refinement count for more and more.

I trust I have not produced the impression of wishing to subordinate architecture to decoration. Nothing could be further from my intention. I would have the two inseparable, and I notice that modern habits and tastes tend to lay stress on the latter. Architecture is the sovereign art. In the best works of the best times, from the frieze of the Parthenon to the Borgia rooms in the Vatican, sculpture and painting were its handmaidens. The brush and the chisel came after the trowel; and you will not accuse me of paradox if I say that the noble structure of St. Paul's was not made for the sake of its subsequent adornments. Architecture is the fundamental art; without its informing spirit a satisfactory table or cupboard is no more possible than a fine cathedral. Its laws are not arbitrary conventions.

Every day we see untrained ingenuity blossom into ephemeral horrors. Lines are tortured in hopes that they will look original; ornaments are stuck on regardless of anatomy; little features, so called, sprout forth in imaginary coquettish grace to the destruction of repose and dignity. Fashion adopts them for an hour and tosses them away.

I said just now that as women are not supposed to be inferior to men in natural taste for decoration, they might well feel encouraged to think of architecture as a profession at a time when the interior adjustment of houses has become an object of increasing attention. I would only add that the taste which can have any wholesome influence on decoration must first have been formed by the schooling of architecture.

Where and how is the schooling to be got? In a general and unprofessional sense there is a training that can begin from childhood. Look and read and travel and compare, and look and look again. And study drawing—make sketches and designs; then, if you are in earnest and wish to practise, you can study building construction, or enter as pupil in an architect's office. The number of years you will have to stay there depends of course on what you know and what you can do when you enter. It may be three years, it may be five. You will be articled, that is, bound, at least theoretically, by the articles of an agreement, the wording of which has come down from the good old times.

You will have to be at your office from ten till six, with an hour free for lunch. You will derive instruction not only from your own efforts, but from those of your fellow students.

You may have the inestimable advantage of superintending the growth of a building from its foundations to its completion. This is where the ladder discipline comes in ; if you were fond of climbing into giddy places in your nursery days, you will rather like it than otherwise.

My last words are to wish you joy and genius and luck. You will perhaps have to face the usual difficulty of beginners in every profession : too many clients will be eager to secure your services. Orders will pour in so fast from all sides that there is some peril of your being choked. Well, this is a risk that must be run. Nothing venture nothing win.

Miniature Painting.

Miss Barbara Hamley (Great Britain).

THE beautiful art of miniature painting should be peculiarly a woman's art ; its distinctive qualities of delicacy, brilliancy, and colour being special attributes of feminine work.

It is an art that can be pursued at home. It does not require a spacious studio, nor even a top-light ; and yet, in spite of its adaptability to feminine habits and capacities, until the present day we do not find a great number of women amongst its eminent professors ; none, perhaps, amongst its very greatest.

On all sides it is said that miniatures are again the fashion, and in view of this distinct revival I should like to say a few words, if I may without presumption, on the limitations and possibilities of the art.

It is better to confess at once that miniature painting is, in a certain sense, a conventional art. The first limitation of a miniature is the size. The old miniature painters never forgot what some of the clever modern disciples seem to forget, that a miniature must always be designed for close inspection. It is meant to be held in the hand, to be pored over, even to be looked at with a magnifying glass ; therefore all impressionist effects and all violent contrasts of colour are out of place, and beauty of touch and delicacy of workmanship must be especially aimed at. The second limitation is that of material, though it may be well to remind my hearers that the use of ivory as a ground-work was only introduced in the last century, and was unknown to, or at least not practised by, such painters as Holbein, Hilliard, Oliver, and Cooper, who

used either card or vellum as the ground of their miniatures. The use of ivory as a material undoubtedly precludes many methods of work and prevents the attainment of much depth of colour, except by the addition of some adhesive medium, such as gum—a means much used by artists at the beginning of this century with the unfortunate result of destroying transparency, obscuring the surface of the ivory and producing an undesirable imitation of oil painting; whereas by keeping the painting as transparent as possible the exquisite surface of the ivory adds beauty to the flesh tints, and is peculiarly adapted to the reproduction of delicate, intricate things, such as hair, feathers, fur, lace, embroideries and elaborate jewellery—whilst the brilliancy and clearness of colour obtainable on its fine hard surface renders it specially delightful for the reproduction of bright childish complexions, the lovely colours of flowers, the crystalline clearness of the eye, and the delicate curves of a woman's throat. The texture of the fur of animals, too, may be most appropriately rendered on ivory; and any real lover of animals, combining a thorough knowledge of their anatomy with an appreciation of the varying shrewdness, kindness and humour of expression in dog and cat, might find fame and fortune awaiting her by the painting of miniatures of our four-footed friends.

I have heard it reported that one of our greatest painters, Mr. Watts, has said the effect of a miniature should be so light that it should "look as if it had been blown on to the ivory;" which seems to me a peculiarly happy description of the graceful qualities of Cosway and his followers. But we must remember that the powdered hair of the period lent itself especially to that mode of treatment, and almost demanded the pale sky background and white draperies which that school affected. It is to be doubted whether a modern miniature gains by the eminently conventional use of a sky background, which can never give a true effect of light and shade, and at its best must always be regarded as a "make up."

A closer study of the older masters, especially Holbein, will, strange to say, bring us more closely into touch with the realism required by modern taste, by showing us the effect with which *flat*, though not necessarily *dark*, backgrounds can be used to increase the beauty of the carefully elaborated dress and ornament which give such interest to his "paintings in little," as they were then called, every hair's-breadth of whose tiny surface is worked up so as to demand and repay micros-

copic inspection. It seems a pity that the one ideal of a clouded background and a white dress should have so taken hold of both painters and public as to make an exhibition of miniatures a somewhat tiresome affair by its sameness. When we remember how grateful we are to the portrait painters of the past for every detail they have preserved for us, of even the eccentricities of fashion of their day, it seems a pity that modern miniature painters should avoid any distinctive characteristics of modern dress for fear, as one so often hears, of their works becoming old fashioned. Why, any old fashion is interesting if it is only old enough, and even the crinoline of 1830 had a sort of charm when we saw it reproduced the other day in "Trelawney of the Wells." What we want to know about our grandfathers and grandmothers is how they really looked "in their habit as they lived;" and what the next generation will want to know about us is what we really wore, how we did our hair, and how our hats were trimmed, not what some artist thought we ought to have looked like. Modern dress is often very pretty, and our neighbours across the Channel manage to produce charming effects from its most extravagant vagaries. For a miniature painter of to-day to try and make his sitter look like a Cosway or a Sir Joshua is as absurd as it was for the sculptors of the day before yesterday to model elderly, respectable statesmen with Roman togas and bare legs and arms.

DISCUSSION.

Mrs. Anna Lea Merritt (U.S.A.) opened the discussion on Art as a profession for women by maintaining that there were no special obstacles in the way of women who wished to study or exhibit, but that as a money earning profession it was only successful to those of very unusual powers.

She thought that too much had been done by the State in England to encourage or attract students in enormous crowds, and too little in the way of giving important work, such as may be intended for public buildings, to artists of established reputation. The State aid to Art is all at the beginning of the artist's career—nothing at the end. Notwithstanding the enormous numbers of students under the South Kensington establishment—2,600,000 in 1898—it seemed to her that all the great work of our day had come from individuals who had not been trained in these schools, and who developed their talent in solitude. England owed the great change in decorative

and textile art to one man, William Morris, who was not produced by the organisation, neither was Rossetti nor Burne-Jones, or any other of our really great men. The great crowd of trained students could only be imitators.

The failures in women's work were often the result of too constant work, it being a characteristic of women to grudge themselves a holiday. Or sometimes they were obliged to work with a load of domestic care that no man ever carried. The quickness of sight and sensitiveness to impression necessary for Art are not to be had with jaded eyes or preoccupied mind.

A great many girls who needed to work, or whose relatives wished to avail themselves of the modern fashion of not supporting their womenfolk, were urged to be artists because it is regarded, unfortunately, as a fashionable, elevated calling. It is only fit for those of exceptionable ability whose passion for it will not bear denial, and these cannot succeed unless they can command at the start at least £200 a year to cover expenses of studio and models, or by social connections can get a start in portrait painting.

Women have no opposition to encounter and should continue to exhibit in the general exhibitions, avoiding the shows of women's work. In the equal contest with men is the best opportunity for their success.

The Spirit of Purity in Art and its Influence on the Well-Being of Nations.

Mme. Louisa Starr Canziani (Great Britain).

I AM taking the opportunity which the International Congress of Women affords, of appealing to the Women of all Nations to use their influence in order that an evil which is increasing day by day may be suppressed, and to demand the most obvious and womanly of all rights—the right that the life around us, as shown by all that meets the eye, should be controlled and kept pure for our own sakes, and the sakes of our daughters and our sons.

It is difficult, given the purpose of this paper and limited time, to convey a just sense of the proportion which the bad in modern

art bears to the good, but it must at least in passing be thankfully acknowledged that the beautiful and pure in Art *do* exist by the side of the base.

The cry for some time has been—"Art for Art's sake!" Paint something, anything—beautiful or hideous—rational or eccentric—delicate or vulgar—or even degraded—only whatever you do, seem clever! Be smart! Be *chic*! Nothing else matters. Attract attention! Advertise! Only do it in the very last mode. Scream!

For this it is that certain young men go abroad to study. Utterly without real enthusiasm or aspiration, they only care to secure the last new thing—whatever it may be: "Impressionism," "The Square Brush Trick," or "Spots." They plunge into a life of license, and on their return to England bring with them the intolerable garbage of the Quartier Latin.

We all know that the highest in French Art is not to be surpassed, either in magnificent technique or noble purpose. We have only to think of Puvis de Chavannes, Bastien le Page, Millet, and countless others—but—entirely incapable of assimilating the good, some of our students too often deliberately choose the hideous, the suggestive, the base, by way of attracting attention they could not otherwise command.

Is not the object of Art to give us high ideals, as well as to open our perceptions to the charms of common life around us, and to bring beauty into our lives? If this be not the underlying motive of all Art, should we not be better without it?

True it is that the world does not exist entirely for "the young person," that there may be phases of nature worthy of portrayal, other than the beautiful, but if so, surely it is only for the sake of the lessons which they teach.

We must not depict the ugly or degraded, without the saving spirit of the pathos which underlies all ugliness and degradation; we must not treat of wickedness without the saving grace of pity or horror; and evil must always be treated as what it really is—*Tragedy*—under no circumstances whatever being touched lightly, or for mere amusement.

As a relieving touch to an unpleasant subject, I may tell the story of a famous engraver who, when almost a boy, was commissioned to engrave a drawing. While he was at work his eldest sister came into the room. He instantly hid the drawing under a sheet of paper. After the girl had left, he reflected that he was about to reproduce by hundreds, for other men's sisters to see, what he would not show to his own sister, and he resolved that so long as he lived he would never put graver

to any work he was ashamed to show a woman of his own family.

I am not raising the question of the nude in art. It is not the question of drapery or no drapery, but of the spirit in which a work is conceived. If this be pure, then all is pure, and whether the subject be draped or undraped can matter little.

But I maintain, even in the face of the realism of the present day, that the nude, to be admissible, must be treated in the grand style. It is the spirit of the Venus of Milo we need and of Watts' Daphne. It is the human figure, robust and mellowed by air and sun, with firm limbs, frank eyes, innocently severe, and joyful in the life of woodland and mountain. There is nothing demoralising here. But the choice of too modern a type—the least exaggeration of form—an uncertainty at the angles of the mouth—an upward twist in the smile—and all is lost which we could honour, and the nude becomes hopelessly debased.

Still, in England I believe the instances to be comparatively few in which the nude has not been treated seriously. My attack—and I touch the subject with repugnance—is rather against the dressed, the too much dressed, the too little dressed, the vulgar, smart, *chic*, undress; the frilled skirt held high. We know what these things mean without going into particulars. There are enough temptations for the young and foolish in their own vanity, love of pleasure, dress, jewels—and the Tempter is always there! These things are tragedies! Are they to be the subjects of permitted jokes and of coarse illustrations? Such things are not forced upon the knowledge of the innocent in real life. Why must they be assailed by them at every moment in the art of the comic journal and poster?

We are told that to the pure all things are pure, and this, quoted in and out of place, has made many a pure woman ashamed of protesting against the wrong she cannot help seeing and understanding.

It is true that the very young and innocent and ignorant may not understand, but they feel, and—however unconsciously—the delicacy of their ideals and their standard of morality must be lowered by things they see at every turn, and cannot avoid, things which for others who are sharper, or of more mature age, may be a direct source of corruption. These very things are allowed in the most prominent positions in every town in the kingdom, and would not be put there if they did not serve their intended purpose of attracting attention.

You perhaps wonder why I lay so much more stress upon our

common, everyday art, than upon its higher forms. We are justly proud of the advance that has been made during the last fifty years in the various modes of mechanical reproduction. At the beginning of the Victorian Era, Art was the monopoly of the rich. Oil pictures, water-colours, costly mezzotints and line engravings were necessarily confined to the walls and portfolios of wealthy connoisseurs. Now the poorest cottage has its pictures—the chromo lithograph and the process engraving—costing pence where the others cost pounds. We point to them as a triumph of the age, but we must not forget that increased reproduction means increased responsibility. The public of a gallery picture is numbered by its hundreds, that of a popular print by hundreds of thousands, and that of a poster by millions.

You know the proverb, "Sing me a nation's songs and I will tell you its history." I say "Show me a nation's pictures and I will tell you that nation's character, the way it is drifting, and its chances of wellbeing and happiness." Now, with pictorial jokes about everything once held sacred, and the most tender relationships of life held in the lowest kind of ridicule, it is little wonder that our old ideals are fading, and that the words—love, faith, honour, purity—belong to a dying language, and are understood by an ever-lessening number.

It is far from my desire to do away with cakes and ale, to stop amusements, and reduce life to dull, monotonous grey. I speak in no narrow spirit, but, on the contrary, believe hearty laughter to be the salt of life and a defence against disease of mind and body. But we must not find diversion in what is merely disgraceful, and which costs us what is best in manhood and womanhood.

You will say, "All this is obvious. We know that Art should be pure." Well, it is not the newest truth that is the truest truth, nor the most necessary truth. If we know so well that Art should be pure, why is it *not* pure? Remember—one thing is certain: though the greater responsibility must always rest with men, who are stronger—yet neither good nor evil can exist in this world without the consent of women.

We women are heavily handicapped in Art, as in all else, by the fact of our womanhood and its duties. I hold that when a woman has a profession it means in most cases that she has two professions. But, however short of our ideals—nay, our possibilities—we may fall, owing to the inevitable circumstances of our lives, still one thing we can always do—we can uphold the right in Art, as well as the right in life. If we say

these insolences, these wrongs, shall not be, they cannot long be—only let a sufficient number say so.

You know the noble words of Elizabeth Browning, "He who denies that he is his brother's keeper, is his Cain." Therefore I hold that it is our duty to demand that certain sources of contamination be done away with, and that the hoardings, the shop windows, and the popular periodicals be kept pure—and made beautiful.

It appears of little use to point out an evil without suggesting a remedy. It would seem that if a more liberal interpretation were given to the present acts, which regulate the sale of photographs, prints, &c., the existing law would be a sufficient protection, but I fear it is useless to expect a wider and more rational interpretation by our magistrates unless the impulse be first given by the force of public opinion.

Of course we all know that this is a *free* country, and that among other freedoms every Englishman is at liberty to annoy his neighbour.

I can give you an illustration. Some of you may, perhaps, remember a poster which was so offensive that its propriety actually was called in question! It was a gigantic figure of a woman in tights, of a vulgarity impossible to express! Yet, the highly intelligent gentlemen judging the case decided that it must be considered decent—because—it was dressed! But to the pure all things are pure, and one can only bend in abject humility before such infantile purity, such kitten-like blindness.

Still, we must hope that this could not have happened but for what I suppose to be some imagined difficulty of making a distinction between right and wrong. But it does seem wonderful that men of the world, with their fuller knowledge, should have so little discrimination, when every woman, in the light of her high ideal and simple, purer instinct, is capable of deciding the question.

It is for this reason that I appeal to all women to join in a crusade in which every influence shall be used to suppress—entirely suppress—immoral advertisements, periodicals, and photographs. If we women were loyal, we should be stronger than any law; therefore, it is to every woman's individual sense of right we should appeal, for if we do not use the power we have, it is ourselves, and not the law, that we must blame, when we see the young life around us fallen from its high estate, and dragged into a sea of mire.

I know that we are fighting a Hydra. I know that as fast as one of its heads is cut off another must be attacked, but many

stones must be dropped into a river before they begin to show above water. The stone I am dropping now I hope may support another and another, and if so this protest will not have been wasted.

After the admirable and practical papers which we have heard, dealing with Art in its economical aspect, it may possibly be thought that I have chosen a theme inclining too much to the sentimental, but to me it seems that the subject concerns the mental health of the present generation and therefore of generations to come, and that however necessary even Art may be as a means of livelihood, man does not live by bread alone, and that in the truest and highest sense we should cultivate "Art for Art's sake."

Fräulein Marie V. Keudell (Germany).

NATURE is perfect in itself and has but one aim, to carry out its own invariable laws. Not so Art. The proud words *L'art pour l'art* seem, from a higher standpoint, narrow-minded and limited. It robs art of its highest goal, the immediate influence on the soul of mankind. A genius—Puvis de Chavannes—said: *L'art pour l'homme*, and that seems a fitting device for our theme.

If you think of all that the occupation, the intense devotion to Art will bring to your mind, there is such an abundance of material that you scarcely know what to choose for consideration in these short opening words.

Art is not only the sweetest comforter for the suffering mind, which submits itself to its soothing influence, but it also educates and elevates it to higher views and stronger feelings of divinity.

Take, for example, the landscape painter all alone, surrounded by the eternal beauty, the infinite loveliness, the sublime grandeur of nature; must not the intense love of nature, the feeling of the Almighty in it, come nearer to the artist than to any one else, and elevate him above the commonplace?

Let us picture the artist devoted to earnest work who studies from the nude: how differently, how much more purely and simply will he comprehend God's creature from his artistic point of view, losing any feeling of sensuality.

This proves that Art preserves purity and simplicity unsullied, that childlike soul of man, that natural, true, frank mind which sees everywhere the perfect and the divine. On the whole a greater inner freedom can be gained by Art, and

therefore a higher comprehension of life. That is to me "The Spirit of Purity in Art."

It is on purpose that I do not touch on the dark sides of Art. As my time is limited to ten minutes, I could not have done it in a deep and satisfactory way. And also I must say, to my mind, true, earnest Art stops where you see real, unmistakable impurity.

There are objects of Art of the highest order which arouse the idea of sensuality without intending it—for example, the Antike-Bürklin, Keinger, etc. If these high works of art have an impure influence on impure minds—an influence not intended—one cannot make the artist answerable for it.

Of course we talk chiefly of professional Art, and from our standpoint chiefly of women's art, but we must not undervalue the amateur for whom Art is an adornment, an enrichment of life. The devotion to Art often turns him away from frivolous pleasure, and refining his taste brings him to a higher standard of culture. The amateur forms comparatively a kind of link between the artist and the great mass of the public. I might almost call the amateur the pioneer, the one who is able to smooth the path for Art, to awaken greater interest for it in his circles.

The faculty to see, to appreciate Art can be implanted and must be nursed.

Now I come to one of the chief points. It is our duty to lighten the ways for the Art students, to show the importance of artistic education, the good training for the young.

Almost the first movement with regard to women arose in England. It has since spread all over the world. We live in a rapid age! The first undertaking on behalf of women artists was formed in England, viz., "The Society of Women Artists, 1859."

Germany quickly followed, and in 1867 the Verein der Künstlerinnen und Kunstfreundinnen was formed in Berlin, whose chief object was to establish a school, which is flourishing up to the present date.

But not only are academies and schools of all kinds required to develop the sense of beauty and art, the life in the home must also prepare the ground in the young souls, and make them able to appreciate and understand what will be taught to them later on. For children brought up among beautiful surroundings will certainly show the fruits of their influence by higher aims and nobleness of mind, even outwardly by the expression of countenance.

Charles Kingsley, a man who loved both nature and Art with an ardent and sensitive mind, says : " Never lose an opportunity of seeing anything beautiful. Beauty is God's handwriting, a way-side sacrament ; welcome it in every fair face, every fair sky, every fair flower, and thank for it Him, the fountain of all loveliness, and drink it in, simply and earnestly, with all your eyes ; it is a charmed draught, a cup of blessing."

Do not these words encourage us to make an effort ? We must not bury our talent, we must try to multiply it as much as possible.

We cannot expect to be all geniuses, but in a humble way each educated being can be useful and in improving himself in Art works involuntarily for " The Spirit of Purity in Art and its Influence on the well being of Nations."

DISCUSSION.

Mrs. Dignam (Canada) said : While many dismiss the matter by saying that " Art should be followed for Art's sake," and that the question of morality has nothing to do with Art, for serious thinkers who wish to see Art hold an influence over the nation that will be for the uplifting and beautifying of the lives of the people, there is another aspect to be considered besides that of pleasure. What was recognised in the first centuries as good Art, when the lives of the saints were the subject matter, singing and praying, looking the love of Christ and showing a desire to follow His example in humility and love of others, there was at least in Art a pure motive (all depicting of subjects for personal enjoyment was considered bad). The return to pagan ideals came with unbelief, and as time went on Art became that which gave personal pleasure. So far Art taste is to-day a matter of habit, and as people may habituate themselves to anything, even the worst, so we have the worst. And we have a demand for Art production as varied in itself as the human race. To-day habit is strong upon us ; a perverted mind and vitiated taste demands its satiety in Art ; for the cultured classes a more refined impurity ; for the lower, the poster and low forms of illustration in our publications. As the artist producer can be found to cater to every form of taste, to every demand, the only hope for a spirit of purity in Art is in reform in the human race, hence I take the ground that those who are interested as I am in seeing a higher standard attained in the *motif* of our Art production, must see how closely it is related to reform of all kinds—not by prohibiting the study of

the nude in our Art schools, not by legislation against the common pictorial placards of our streets; but through that education, and, I would add, that true religion, Christian brotherhood of man, which seeks the good of all rather than personal pleasure.

The commercialism in Art which makes men willing to paint and sculpture to any demand so that it but pays them is one of our serious conditions. Art has got very far indeed in our day from its purpose. It has almost ceased to be a means of intercourse between man and man, or as an inspiration to devotion, heroism, or high purpose. It is almost universally devoted to giving pleasure, hence the need of technical perfection has reached a very high point. It is not what the message to mankind is but how it is clothed. Schools have multiplied therefore, and the conditions in these schools, the *motif* with which study is pursued, the ultimate attainment, are such as to prepare the artist producer for his or her future efforts to supply the demand. This is the real root of the matter, not the study or production of the nude, but the conditions and purpose of the study to serve ultimate ends; hence the schools are a product induced by our culture.

I have great sympathy with the older men of the present Dutch school, including such artist as Israëls, Bloomers, Mesdag, Maris, and others who so vigorously oppose the academic movement in Holland. Not because it is academic, but the purpose which induces it. Technical excellence they say; "Seek from Nature as we have done—from her comes inspiration," higher and purer purpose, and sure reward. I firmly believe that the Art of to-day, so exclusive, so lacking in the guidance of religious perception, cannot lead to that spirit of purity in Art which conduces to the wellbeing of the nations; and that the plastic arts, to be pure and ennobling, must be the expression of a people who are not professional in the sense we look upon it, but as a means of simple expression, pure taste, and a closer contact with nature produced with less school training, Art will be accessible to all. This means going back to simplicity, clearness, and brevity, and communion with nature, demanding less technique (with its attendant evils). Tolstoy says that the feeling that artists have nowadays that their maintenance should be secured to them is harmful in the extreme, since it removes them from that struggle with nature that deprives them of opportunity and possibility to experience the most important and natural feelings of man. He says, further, "Until the dealers are

driven out, the temple of art will not be a temple." The spirit of purity in Art means truth, simplicity, brotherhood, communion, love between man and man. Art may uplift or degrade; may raise to a high purpose or degrade human impulse, or may pervert in the most subtle way the taste, morals, and talents of a people.

Mrs. Emilie W. Martin (United States) said: The purpose of all Art is the display and ultimate vindication of beauty, and the diffusion of good. The first of its laws is the law of selection. The final result is to redeem. The recognition of an influence that is good and the rejection of an influence that is evil. It has been said, Christ in Art now rules the whole world of Art. Antiquity attempted to make its gods noble by the chisel or by the brush, but they all shrink out of sight before the Man of Calvary. Learning, song, drama, art, and theology all have conspired to glorify the name of Jesus. Art is being exalted because it is being brought in contact with the practical. It has been said: "Imagination is a chemical which, let a man pour it upon any plate whatsoever, is sure to develop the features of his own face."

Mrs. Montefiori Nicholls (Great Britain) said: Something is being done by means of trips to the country, and placing in the schools pictures of flowers, animals, or other things, to cultivate in the minds of the poor children of the East End a love of the beautiful, and the power to seek and appreciate it in its many phases. It is thought, however, that this may best be done by commencing literally at their very doors, and a scheme has been started to obtain from artists of repute attractive pictures of the immediate neighbourhood of the City Board Schools, and to have them circulated among these schools. It is obvious to those who know the works of some of our artists, in many parts of London, in the East as well as in the West End, how much beauty there is, for instance, to mention alone, the marvellous sunset effects, although, undoubtedly, too often unnoticed and even unsuspected. The plan proposed is to obtain a few such pictures and circulate them among the East End schools, lending two or three to a school for a certain time, and requesting the teachers to take opportunities of speaking to the children on the beauties of the pictures and scenes represented, and so awakening in their minds the faculty of recognising for themselves similar beauties in their ordinary surroundings; thus, in the course of time, the whole series would pass through all the schools

of the district. The first picture (A View of Aldgate Street at Sunset) by Herbert Marshall, R.W.S., has been obtained and exhibited in two schools. In both the result has been most satisfactory and the picture appreciated beyond expectation; scarcely any of the children, when asked, had seen, or rather noticed, a red sky before, nor did they know at first at what time of day such an effect was to be looked for, showing how little their powers of observation had been developed. They were delighted to recognise the familiar scene of Aldgate Street and to speculate as to the place from which the picture was painted. Shortly after several of the children brought accounts of a beautiful sunset they had noticed a day or two before, and some even showed crude attempts to reproduce from memory the picture which had been shown them a week or two earlier. The Toynbee Hall Council are the trustees of the pictures, and will be responsible for their circulation amongst the schools.

Fru Hildegard Thorell (Sweden) said: At this Congress, where educated, practised, female artists are represented, it may be interesting to gain knowledge concerning the position of women in Sweden in this branch of culture. Permit me then to briefly set forth some simple facts in regard to this subject. I do this so much more readily as the illustration which I am able to afford may, I think, show that the circumstances in our country are specially favourable to the female artist. Her development continues, and already has given good results. The Royal Academy of Fine Arts, instituted in the year 1735, gave—until a later period—instruction to men students only. Through a Royal letter in 1863, the Academy became accessible to women also, who, in deference to that institution, were permitted entrance into its classes. At the beginning, at the highest, only twenty-five females could be admitted, but the number could, upon the Academy's own motion, be augmented, and the prize then awarded was but 100 kr. In 1872 the Academy made representation to His Majesty the King, that this award be raised to 300 kr.—“Since the studies in the female section are carried on with the same praiseworthy assiduousness and success as in the male; and the female section contained just as many classes as the male.” This proposition was effected in the year 1878 in compliance with a letter from the King. In accordance with royal ordination in the same year, 1878, women have been placed fully in the same position as men as regards the right to study as well

as in the matter of prizes—nevertheless, women were not permitted access to the architectural school. In accordance with the last "Academy Prospectus" for the year 1898-99, the Royal Academy School for instruction in painting and in sculpture, has been availed of by twenty-six female students (as against twenty-nine male), and two out of this number have attained the highest distinction, viz., the "King's Medal," which carries with it a stipend for travelling purposes. Such awards are fairly numerous, and are of amounts well worth the gaining. Thus, there are granted five awards of not less than 3,000 kr. a year for three consecutive years; one, of 1,200 kr.; and one of 500 kr., without mentioning several other prizes of less importance. Finally, women can be elected members of the Royal Academy, and several have availed themselves of the privilege.

Miss Cridgett (England) was then called upon to address the meeting on the subject of advertisements on hoardings. She said that any one who had walked through the streets of London or other large cities must have noticed how much the style of hoarding advertisements had improved. There were now few, if indeed any, of the debasing pictures so numerous before the crusade of the National Vigilant Society, which she was glad to say was now backed up by the Bill Posters' Association.

The conference was closed by an address from **Mrs. Motte Borglum**.

WOMEN INSPECTORS.

THE WORK OF WOMEN INSPECTORS.

SMALL HALL, WESTMINSTER TOWN HALL,

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28, MORNING.

The Hon. Mrs. A. T. LYTTTELTON in the chair.

The Work of Women Inspectors.

Mrs. W. P. Byles (Great Britain).

THERE are few departments of women's work which have developed with the rapidity of Inspectorates; and the rapidity has been so great and so recent, and bids fair to be so continuous, that anything like a complete statistical return could have only a fleeting accuracy. It will be of more value, I think, if instead of burdening you with mere barren figures I open this question by a brief purview of the position of women to-day in this important branch of public service.

The fitness of women to occupy this new claim which they have pegged out has been but slowly realised. In all that I shall say in support of it, there is no note of antagonism to the work hitherto done exclusively by men, and no lack of gratitude for their services. My desire is to prove that women's work is the necessary complement of it.

Years ago the distinguished head of an Oxford College said to me that he believed the bye-products of civilisation were of greater value than its main products, and that the wasteful neglect of these grew out of lamentable apathy and ignorance.

The highly-educated, competent woman has been for many years among these neglected bye-products; but her social value is at last being understood.

Mrs. Nassau Senior's short spell of work in 1874 among pauper children under the Local Government Board was the first experimental test of her value; but successful as it was, her work was not handed on to Miss Mason for some time.

The next great step was taken when the assistance of women was sought by the Labour Commission.

The large body of evidence collected by Miss Orme and her three colleagues, and published in 1893—evidence which for the most part could only have been fully discovered by women—was the direct stimulus to Mr. Asquith in his admirable appointment of Women Factory Inspectors. Of these, Miss Abraham (now Mrs. Tennant) was the first and most distinguished. She won her spurs on the Labour Commission, and has used them deftly ever since, pricking the sides of a too lethargic Government Department and a supine public opinion.

There are now seven Women Factory Inspectors, of whom Miss Anderson is the principal. Unfortunately Miss Anderson has been stripped by the Home Office of one of the most important powers entrusted to her predecessor, Miss Abraham—*i.e.*, that of initiating prosecutions on her own responsibility. This restriction must necessarily weaken the chastening influence which she and her colleagues exercise over those employers who stand in need of it. The change is the more surprising as that part of the work had been done with much discretion. In 1897, out of 92 cases carried into court, 86 convictions were obtained. Such convictions were among the many potent influences which have gradually won from the workers themselves that great confidence in the Women Inspectors without which their inspection would be futile. At first, employed as well as employers looked upon the new officials with doubt, if not suspicion. What business had women to go poking about in mills and workshops? What could they know about machinery, how could they distinguish between good and bad conditions of labour, and how could they help in the administration of complicated Acts of Parliament? But it has come to this now, that when the men are suffering from some disability they believe to be unjust or unnecessary, they will often ask the women working alongside them: "When is yon Lady Inspector of yours coming along?" The change is significant of much.

The Women Inspectors are not on the same footing as the

men. Their examination is not identical with the men's, nor, it need hardly be said, are their salaries. They have no specified districts, but are liable to be sent anywhere in Great Britain to inquire into women's labour. With men's they have nothing to do, except indirectly. They make special inquiries into dangerous trades, infringements of the Truck Act (a brilliant and notable success was scored in Donegal last year in regard to these), the enforcement of the 1895 Act for the Regulation of Laundries, complaints (often anonymous) from women workers as to infringements of the law, etc., and other ordinary matters of factory life, such as the provision of decent sanitary accommodation. Few people, even those who live in the great industrial centres of the North of England, have any idea of how much ill-health and deterioration of morals and manners have been produced, and indeed are still being produced, by neglect of this last point. It is natural and right that women should be unwilling to make complaints of such deficiencies to Men Inspectors. To Women Inspectors they can speak freely, and, I hope, will speak with growing freedom; for so deadening is the force of an evil custom that information filters in far too slowly to Miss Anderson and her colleagues. The workers put up with bad accommodation too readily.

It is convenient to take the Women Sanitary Inspectors next, because of the close connection of their work with that of the Factory Inspectors. They deal closely with the same people at other points in their lives—points no less important than those of organised work in factories. Their number is increasing rapidly; a satisfactory and sufficient testimony to their value. Leading medical officers of health are warmly in their favour. London has 8 sanitary inspectors; Glasgow, 6; Liverpool, 5; Birmingham, 4; Leeds, 2; and so on in Sheffield, Leicester, Nottingham, and St. Helens. In Manchester and Salford there are 22, who work under the dual control of the corporations of each city and the Ladies' Health Society. The Manchester share of the 22 is 16, and of these the corporation pays for 9 and the Health Society for 7.

The duties of the Inspectors do not vary much in the different towns. They are often wisely called "Health Visitors," in order to disarm the prejudice which sometimes attaches to the word "Inspector." They advise as to cleanliness, ventilation, the management of children (with the distinct aim of lowering the frightful rate of infant mortality in large towns), they notify nuisances and overcrowding, and report

cases of cruelty to children to the National Society. In London every candidate must hold the certificate of the Sanitary Institute, and most provincial towns also demand it.

The duties of these Inspectors may seem very humble. It may seem a trivial matter to distribute lime for lime-washing, to sell carbolic soap at 2d. a lb., and bits of wood for enabling the window of a tiny home to be open at the top without making a draught at the bottom, or to explain the importance of keeping children's heads clean; but trivialities such as these play a large part in the lives of the very poor, who have no homes but such as they can find in the slums of our great cities. Sweep away the slums by all means, but do not let us neglect to help their dwellers to become fit and comely inhabitants of the better homes to which they are entitled.

The Vestry of St. George the Martyr, Southwark, distinguished itself in 1896 by appointing a woman Inspector of Tenements, thanks mainly to the beneficent influence of Miss Alice Busk, one of its members. It has needed great tact and persuasiveness to conquer the resentment of the people towards the very stringent regulations of the Tenements' By-laws; but so well have these womanly qualities been exercised that during nearly two and a half years Miss Elliot (the Inspector) was only obliged to take ten over-crowding cases and nine cleansing cases into court—securing convictions in every case.

The fact is that, to quote a valuable Report recently issued by the Health Committee of the Birmingham Corporation, "there is a great deal of sanitary work which, if it is to be done at all, must be done by women."

Let me enforce the close and vital connection between factory and sanitary inspection by a quotation from the last Report issued by the Factory Inspectors of the State of New York. Referring to the fact that one-seventh of all the workers employed in all the industries of the State are garment-makers—103,544, of whom nearly half are women—and that the industry is mainly a home and small-workshop industry, it goes on to say: "The main danger to the public comes from filth and disease. Under existing conditions we can reach and regularly inspect places of this character only once in a year, except in cases where complaint is made, and then only the place complained of is revisited. Constant attention, frequent visiting, watching and prodding are necessary to force those engaged in the making of ready-made clothing to understand and

fully realise just what is meant by the American idea of cleanliness of workshop and person. The Department needs more inspectors to properly enforce the Tenement-house Inspection Law."

What is true in America is true in England. The difference in the standard of cleanliness of the ordinary well-to-do English home and the inferior English factory and workshop is full of grave danger to the public health, and money and energy which are spent in equalising them are well spent.

Under the Shop Hours Act a small beginning has been made, which needs rapid extension. The L.C.C. appointed three women inspectors this year, and the Manchester City Council has two. They only inspect shops which employ women, and small as the Act is which they have to administer—the limitation of working hours to 74 a week—their influence has already proved useful.

The Local Government Board have two women Inspectors of Boarded-out Children, and an assistant woman Inspector of the Poor Law Schools in the Metropolitan area, which contain some 20,000 children. These ladies are, in fact, the foster-mothers of this army of children of the State.

The London County Council has two women inspectors under the Infant Life Protection Act, and the Bristol Board of Guardians has two.

The work of education comes last, but its importance is so great, and the ramifications of its development are so numerous, that it needs a paper to itself, and, to my regret, nothing but a brief and inadequate reference is possible to me now.

The Education Department years ago realised the obvious necessity of a woman's opinion on needlework, and appointed the Hon. Mrs. Colborne as directress of it. Later they gave her a much-needed assistant, and seven ladies as examiners under her. These were followed by the appointment of an Inspector of Cookery and Laundry, the scope of whose duties is bewilderingly great; and three Sub-Inspectors of Schools, whose appointment was admittedly experimental, but the results of which are already in a high degree encouraging. The Inspectress of Cookery must inspect at least twice a year the 28 Training Schools for Cookery and Laundry in England, Scotland, and Ireland; as many as possible of the classes in the Elementary Schools for Cookery, Laundry, and Housewifery in England and Wales; and grants diplomas to the teachers trained at the local cookery centres. In the examination of these candidates, of whom there are generally

about 500, she has the assistance of two ladies. Truly, there can be no eight hours' day for the woman employed in the Civil Service!

Local educational authorities are moving fast. The London School Board leads the way with seventeen women who do inspector's work, or something closely akin to it, headed by Mrs. Dickenson Berry, M.D., D.Sc., who inspects the women applicants for teacher's posts, and the defective children in the schools; and by Mrs. Burgwin, whose long success in dealing with the most difficult section of our child-population makes her direction of the work of inestimable value. The School Boards of Liverpool, Leicester, Nottingham, Birmingham, Leeds, Bradford, and Bristol, and the Technical Education Committee of the London County Council, all employ women inspectors who are, for the most part, though happily not in every case, limited to what are called "domestic subjects."

The widest divergence obtains in regard to salaries. From £400 a year they run down in an eccentric and irrational fashion, which bears scant relation to the varying responsibilities of the different posts, to £1 a week and tram-fares. It is impossible to guess what is the root of the curious difference in the estimates of what is due for inspectors' work. On the whole, and taking all things into account, some of the local authorities have a more generous and wise conception of their duties in this respect than the Imperial ones. London, Liverpool, Nottingham, Leicester pay well; Bristol and St. Helens are stingy.

On the question of the equalisation of woman's salaries with men's I am urged to say little, lest the movement of women into public life should be checked and they should lose the ground they have already gained. Leave this matter, it is said, until public opinion holds women to be indispensable to the due discharge of public functions, and then it may with safety be discussed. For the same reason I will not discuss the condition of work, hours, holidays, and so forth. But I cannot forbear to remind you that conditions that are the same on paper as between men and women, mean something very different when it comes to practical life. The life-training, mental and social habit, and long traditions of women should be taken into account. The good woman, as a rule, takes her work more seriously, more laboriously than a man. She has fewer interludes during the day when pressure is relaxed. She puts more heart into her work; she has a greater patience for detail; she wants different things to make her effective. The

fact is, you can't work men and women on the same lines. A great expert reminds me that if you tie women down to men's rules you will get inferior women; the best women will not respond to them. A well-known economist is reported to have said, "You can't make the same laws in the University for men and women. The men break them and you know they will. The women don't, and that's disastrous!"

That these matters have not come up for discussion is only one proof among many of the high qualities of the women who have joined the Inspectorates. They have taken up the work simply and without debate or mere personal consideration, and we women who stand below and watch their careers feel a just pride in their temper as well as in their achievements.

Their success, to a mere outsider, may seem easy enough; so easy as to tempt many ardent but unsuitable women to try for the posts. The appointment of such women would certainly mean a great set-back to the movement, and I therefore venture to urge on those who desire this work to consider what a full, wide, and systematic training of head, heart, and hand is absolutely essential to a due discharge of its duties.

Long and serious study of the economic causes which have produced the industrial, social, and physical conditions of the people is of the first importance. For many inspectorships a medical course would be a most valuable part of the training; and when we get, as I hope we may before long, a Woman Inspector of Prisons, a knowledge of psychology, as well as of sociology, will be necessary to her. No women are discharging graver, more responsible duties to society than these inspectors. The future legislation, which is to make some of the crooked things straight, will be, to a large extent, inspired and moulded by them. The organisation of industry and the homes of England alike, in the years to come, will bear the impress of their insight, their intelligence, their devotion.

Factory and Shop Inspections in Canada.

Miss Carlisle, Factory Inspector for the Province of Ontario.

(Read by Miss Carty, of Toronto.)

THE close of the last quarter of the present century will mark the period of the greatest advancement of women in the industrial world.

Notwithstanding the great number of female workers now employed, it is doubtful whether in reality the factory system has materially changed the importance of women's work. Within the past generation, however, inventors have made machinery almost human, needing directions only, and little manual strength. This has opened to women new and wide fields of labour. In many cases it has made it preferable to male labour in the production of many articles. Meanwhile it has lessened the field of what was formerly regarded as women's work: they do not spin, nor make shirts or stockings; very few make butter or cheese. These articles are now factory products, and the family can buy them cheaper than they can be made at home. The daughter of the house no longer finds employment in her home. The factory offers inducements—this is not so much a matter of choice as of necessity growing out of the displacement of hand-work by machinery. In many industries the female outnumber the male workers; what the ultimate effect is to be is yet a query. A study of the present situation brings us to the conclusion that women have been gainers by the change, with factory laws to restrict the hours of labour and compel proper sanitary arrangements in the establishment where they are employed.

It is understood that every citizen owes something to the State, therefore the people do not object to any legislation involving the great principle of the greatest good to the greatest number, even if it does demand some small personal sacrifices. On this principle we have at the present day enacted many laws in Canada beneficial to the community at large. We have the law for restriction to the speed of street vehicles, for the official inspection of buildings, of the milk offered for sale, for the compulsory education of children. These laws are admittedly beneficial; but Factory Inspection Laws are even more necessary than such as have been named. Life in the factory, unlike that of the railway train, the school, or the hotel, is secluded from public view and guarded from chance of criticism. The gates of the mill open for the entrance and exit of those who people the little world within, and for those alone.

It is true that Great Britain, in her Factory Acts, had led the way in such legislation. In Canada it was followed by the Province of Ontario in 1884; in the Province of Quebec in 1885. It is desirable that in all the provinces there be similar legislation affecting factories and workshops, regulating the hours of labour, the employment of females and young persons.

Too strong a plea cannot be made for factory laws, and the working people in provinces where such a law does not exist should agitate the question and petition their respective legislatures to pass similar laws.

The restriction of the hours of labour for women and children employed in factories, workshops, or mercantile establishments was agitated in the Press and in the Women's Christian Temperance Union workers and Labour Councils. This discussion was carried on for years without definite results, because it was supposed to be largely based on sentiment.

At the first Trade and Labour Congress of Canada, held in the city of Toronto in the year 1873, a resolution was passed to urge that the whole interest, power, and influence of the labour of the country be brought to bear on our law makers to enact a factory law, and at each yearly Convention the agitation was renewed until the year 1884, when the Factory Act became law. In 1887 three male Inspectors were appointed to enforce the law; no factory came under its jurisdiction unless there were employed therein twenty persons. In 1889 the Act was amended to bring under its operations factory and workshops in which were employed six persons or more. In 1895 the Act was further amended that no boy or girl under fourteen years of age should be employed in any factory.

Canada owes a deep debt of gratitude to her Excellency, Lady Aberdeen, and the members of the National Council of Women of Canada, to whose energetic efforts we owe that reform so long sought for, the appointment of Female Factory Inspectors in the interest of women workers in the Province of Ontario and Quebec; also to the amendment of the Shop Act, for the further protection of persons employed in places of business other than factories, and that the inspection of such places be made provincial.

This amended Act, with its greatly extended provisions, came into operation in the month of May, 1897. It was a step in the right direction, and is doing much good throughout Ontario. There never was a law enacted that has done more for the uplifting of humanity. Among the laws which the inspectors are called upon to enforce are the following:—

“Protecting the operators from unguarded machinery.”

“Inspection of buildings alleged to be unsafe or dangerous.”

“Prohibiting, through working hours, the locking of doors.”

"To prevent the employment of children under fourteen years of age."

"The cleaning of machinery while in motion."

"Over-crowding in workrooms."

It also provides for the protection of openings of all elevators.

"Proper meal hours for young girls and women."

"Proper sanitary arrangements with separate closets for male and female."

"A sufficient number of fire-escapes."

"Seats for all females in mercantile houses."

"Limit to the hours of employment for women and children."

"A register of the names and addresses of all employees."

In all these enactments are to be found wise and salutary provisions. I believe that the provisions of our own laws are now in the front rank with respect to legislation for the improvement of the conditions surrounding those who toil for a living in our factory, workshops, or mercantile establishments. No country has done more for the substantial advancement of the labouring people than our own legislatures in some of the provinces of Canada.

The sweating system, in its literal sense, is not extensive in Canada, although in all parts of it are some shops, some large and some small. Most of those places are run by people of foreign birth. They try to evade the law in every conceivable way, or will try to prove to you how impossible it is for them to comply with the law.

There is one thing that must tend to raise the physical and moral standing of all women; that is the wise law which has put an end to the employment of young children in mills and workshops.

The factories which work the full sixty hours are, cotton, woollen, and knitting factories. The hours for employment of females are shorter in cities, in almost every industry running from forty-five to fifty hours per week. A shorter working-day for those people seems to me an imperative necessity.

The general conditions of factories, from a sanitary point of view, are fairly good. There is marked improvement in general surroundings, better sanitary conditions, more safeguards, better conveniences of all kinds, no longer unsanitary conditions are allowed to exist, because some local authority lacks the wisdom and courage to suppress them. Local and political interests are not permitted to over-ride the public good.

Heating and ventilating of factories a few years ago was of the simplest and most imperfect character. The great problem is that of supplying pure air in sufficient quantities and removing that which is foul under the varying conditions of a changeable climate such as that of Canada; in the season of mild weather when doors and windows can be opened there is no difficulty in maintaining the proper conditions of the air inside, but the case is very different in the inclement season, when there is a very marked difference in the temperature indoors and out, even when workrooms are large and airy.

The use of electric light is becoming more universal in workshops and factories, with most beneficial results. It is to be hoped that electricity, in the near future, will be substituted instead of gas, especially in heating flat-irons in laundries and tailor shops; it would improve the atmosphere of those places very much.

It has gradually become apparent for the protection of the employed, that legal restrictions and regulations are as necessary in mercantile as in manufacturing establishments, so far as limiting the age of children, seats for women, sanitary requirements, hours of labour. A very great deal had been accomplished in some of our large mercantile houses since the amendment of the Shops Act.

Factory inspection is no longer an experiment, and the manufacturers now look for the coming of inspectors. One of the most encouraging features of the work is the almost complete disappearance of the spirit of resistance. It is undeniably true that the owner and managers of our manufacturing and mercantile establishments take a more direct and active interest in the welfare of their employees.

In some of the provinces of Canada, as far as human wisdom can provide, the policy of our Legislatures has been wholly praiseworthy.

Those familiar with the laws on behalf of women and children, more especially the sections which relate to regulating the sanitary conditions, are aware that there are cases where better service can be rendered by female inspectors than by the male inspectors. The experience of the past three years has clearly proved the correctness of this opinion. We hope to see the day when human beings will be of greater moment than either money or property, the day when man's worth cannot be estimated in dollars, but in deeds and actions.

Women Inspectors.

Mlle. Drücker (Holland).

EN entrant du côté du jardin dans la salle destinée à l'Industrie de l'Exposition Nationale de travaux féminins, l'œil du visiteur fut immédiatement frappé par la vue d'un énorme cadre pouvant renfermer cinq portraits et posé sur un chevalet à droite. Se détachant dans l'encadrement noir sur le carton blanc immaculé des yeux de géant immobiles semblaient fixer les passants qui, comme hypnotisés étaient forcés de s'arrêter. Au dessus un papier était attaché sur lequel une plume spirituelle avait écrit : " Les portraits de nos Inspectrices de travail." Monsieur le Ministre des Ponts et Chaussées, du Commerce et de l'Industrie a-t-il été frappé par l'ironie satirique du reproche justifié ? Notre reine s'est-elle sentie offensée par cette négation de la femme, là où se trouvent réunies des milliers de femmes de l'industrie, là où il existe une loi spéciale sur le travail féminin ? Je l'ignore. Cependant ce que je sais c'est que si l'Exposition, comme un autre Phénix, pouvait renaitre de sa cendre, le cadre insultant railleur ne serait plus là à grimacer, là pourrait se trouver un portrait, celui de notre première Inspectrice de Travail. Quand je dis notre première Inspectrice de Travail, je ne suis pas complètement dans le vrai, je flatte un peu la balance, ce que nous avons dans les Pays-Bas n'est qu'une Inspectrice — adjointe de Travail et cela encore toujours une adjointe à l'épreuve. Si la femme appelée à cette fonction ne paraît pas être " the right woman in the right place " non seulement elle reçoit sa démission mais n'est pas remplacée. C'est pour être conséquent ! Voilà l'explication ! Quand un Inspecteur de Travail ne satisfait pas, on en choisit un autre, quand l'Inspectrice de Travail ne satisfait pas, on déclare le poste déchu.

La lutte pour nommer une Inspectrice de Travail en Hollande n'a été ni de longue durée, ni difficile. Relativement on n'a pas fait de propagande en faveur de cette idée, on n'en avait pas besoin, car ici il ne s'agit pas d'une idée qui doit s'introduire dans le public, mais d'une idée qui dépend tout à fait du Gouvernement et de la Représentation Nationale. Cependant une assez grande quantité d'encre avait été employée avant que la proposition de nommer une Inspectrice-adjointe, auprès de deux Inspecteurs adjoints vint de la part du Gouvernement et

cela en 1898. Tous les Journaux féminins et plusieurs autres soit libéraux, soit ceux des ouvriers, avaient déjà depuis plusieurs années abordé ce sujet et avaient montré la nécessité de nommer une Inspectrice de Travail dans un pays où un assez grand nombre de femmes sont actives dans l'industrie, afin de les mettre en état de communiquer à un fonctionnaire de leur propre sexe les griefs et les plaintes dont à regret elles ne feraient part à un homme. La vraie campagne ne commença que dans les derniers mois de 1897. Avant ce temps, on avait déjà présenté de temps en temps des adresses au Ministre et au Gouvernement, mais c'est alors que le Ministre en reçut plusieurs. Celles-ci ne se contentaient plus de demander vaguement mais stipulaient exactement ce qu'on désirait. A la tête de ce mouvement était "le Comité pour l'Amélioration de la position sociale et judiciaire de la femme en Hollande," comité qui, dans ce temps, n'était qu'une combinaison de 7 personnes, parmi lesquelles se trouvaient un Professeur et un Membre de la Première Chambre. Le comité exigea le changement de la loi qui stipule les conditions auxquelles doit répondre un Inspecteur, attendu qu'aucune femme du pays ne pourrait subir l'examen d'après la loi comme elle était et comme elle est encore. Plusieurs sociétés de femmes promirent leur adhésion à cette adresse, d'autres cependant, jugeant qu'il est injuste qu'une femme nommée pour remplir une place ait besoin de moins de capacités qu'un homme, n'insistèrent provisoirement que sur la nomination d'une Inspectrice-adjointe, afin que celle-ci une fois placée, pût se perfectionner et atteindre ensuite le rang d'Inspectrice.

"Time is money" et ce que ces adressants désiraient n'était que gagner du temps, afin que d'autres femmes pussent acquérir les capacités exigées d'une Inspectrice, pendant que l'Inspectrice-adjointe se maintenait dans sa position moins importante. Des particuliers aussi ont ouvert un cours dans cette direction. Cependant des voix de différentes opinions eurent beau se faire entendre, le grand public resta indifférent et ne s'intéressa que très-peu à cette question. Aussi, quand il y a quelques années, une Allemande traita ce sujet à Amsterdam la salle resta presque vide.

Monsieur Kerdýk, membre de notre Représentation nationale fut plus heureux quand il traita ce sujet le 13 Janvier, 1898, dans la salle de Congrès de l'Exposition du travail féminin. Toutefois, il faut le dire, ces congrès attiraient presque toujours un auditoire nombreux, attentif et reconnaissant.

L'Inspectrice-adjointe est maintenant nommée moyennant

un salaire annuel de fl. 1,500, qui peut monter jusqu'à fl. 2,500. Les capacités de cette Inspectrice-adjointe sont en résumé :—

1. Connaissance de nos lois sur le travail et les principales stipulations des lois des autres pays de l'Europe, qui ont de l'influence sur les lois hollandaises.

2. L'hygiène.

3. Les machines et les outils.

4. Elle doit être au courant des branches de l'Industrie.

Elle doit avoir, lors de sa nomination, atteint l'âge de 26 ans et ne pas dépasser celui de 36.

Quoique la voie que doit suivre cette première inspectrice soit pleine de variations et de vie, elle n'est pas du tout sans ronces et sans épines. Les partis qui veulent la diriger, chacun selon son propre sentiment la dirigeront et la tireront tantôt à droite, tantôt à gauche. Si jamais elle ose donner tort aux ouvriers ou aux ouvrières, elle échauffera la bile au mouvement ouvrier, et si sans exception, elle prend le parti des ouvriers, elle aura bientôt contre elle les patrons et les fabricants.

En outre, il y a dans notre pays deux partis quant à une législation spéciale pour la femme : celui-ci insiste sur un règlement à part, celui-là désire que l'homme et la femme puissent occuper les mêmes places sous les mêmes conditions, sous les mêmes stipulations. Nous espérons que la nouvelle nommée saura éviter toutes ces difficultés. C'est pourquoi il est heureux pour le mouvement des femmes encore plus que pour l'individu que cette première nommée n'est qu'adjointe, c'est-à-dire qu'elle n'est pas tout à fait responsable, puisqu'elle n'agit que sous les ordres d'un inspecteur.

DISCUSSION.

Miss Anderson said she desired to correct a piece of information given in the excellent paper read by Mrs. Byles on Women Factory Inspectors. So much depended on the meaning attached to a single word that it was advisable to give exact information. Mrs. Byles had said that women inspectors no longer initiated prosecutions. As a matter of fact, the principal lady inspectors alone initiated prosecutions. There had been a misunderstanding on the point. She would draw attention to the figures. In 1897, out of 92 prosecutions, 86 were convictions. The figures for 1898 were now also before the public, and, while quoting from memory, she believed she was correct in saying that out of 207 cases instituted, no fewer than 204 convictions were obtained. At any rate, the only change had been one of greater strength in the enforcement of

the law. As a matter of fact, two cases instituted by the principal inspectors required the sanction of the chief inspector.

Mrs. Byles asked whether this caused much delay.

Miss Anderson admitted that there must be some delay; and, in reply to a further query by the same lady, said that there was not any difficulty experienced in getting evidence.

Miss Alice Ravenhill (of the National Health Society) said that two points had struck her while listening to Mrs. Byles. First of all, she quite recognised that certain tact must be innate in the woman inspector, but the technical qualifications must be acquired. She reminded them that it was from the ranks of those who had won diplomas from the National Health Society that the earlier women inspectors were recruited. Reference had also been made to the need of developing public opinion with a view of increasing the number of women inspectors. At the present moment there were seven women inspectors for a million and a half women workers; and when they remembered that for the five million inhabitants of London there were not more than ten women sanitary inspectors they must see at once how important it was that their numbers should be increased. No amount of generalisation would bring this about; the only way was to bring to bear the sustained pressure of an intelligent public opinion, and this must be based on sound knowledge. It was worthy of note that not one hour was set apart in this great congress to the subject of health and its promotion. Many subjects were dealt with, but none was specifically destined to mould public opinion with a view to constituting ourselves a vigorous nation. The National Health Society directly formed public opinion by promoting health teaching of all classes. A great deal has also been done by the County Councils. Among rich and poor there were terrible sins of omission in regard to hygiene. Therefore all women should secure a groundwork of health knowledge, and let them turn that knowledge, when acquired, to account by influencing opinion on the questions in which they were directly interested. The work of the inspectors had been so increased and the strain so intensified by attention to detail that they had no time to attend to many more important matters which claimed their attention. If they could be sure that their suggestions would be intelligently understood and carried out, their time would be saved and their attention could be turned to other and wider fields of labour. But as a matter of fact it was found that women inspectors had to teach elementary hygiene in the slums, to impart what should be

common knowledge, instead of carrying out their higher duties. Surely philanthropic women, who were interested in the subject of national health, could render service in paving the way for health inspectors by imparting the elements of health knowledge to those who stood so greatly in need thereof.

Miss Mason, who said she would be pleased to answer any questions respecting poor law inspectors, explained that an inspector could only report; she could not say "Do this" and see it done then and there. They had to trust to the local people to carry out reforms which possibly seemed far more urgent to an inspector than to those who lived in the place. As to her own appointment as inspector, she should be glad to give any information, as well as on the general subject of women poor law inspectors, should any one so desire.

Mrs. Moran (Guardian of Lewisham) pointed out some of the defects of the present poor law system. Many of the officials were nominees of guardians. They wanted women inspectors to go round and inspect the institutions and find out defects which the guardians' nominees did not discover. There were no women relieving officers—

A lady in the audience here stated that **Mrs. Price**, of Oswestry, had performed the duties of relieving officer for some time.

Mrs. Moran was delighted to hear this. At her own board she had moved for the appointment of a woman as relieving officer, but she was hardly accorded a hearing, was told it was not legal, and so on. Who could be more fit than a woman to make the necessary and delicate inquiries into the sorrows and misfortunes of other women? there was often something at the bottom of it all which no man could ever get at. Touching on the general subject of poor law reform, the speaker said that the sum allowed by the Local Government Board for the maintenance of inmates of workhouses and infirmaries was 1s. 2d. per head per week. Was there any official in the Local Government Board offices who would care to live on 1s. 2d. per week? The sum levied on the ratepayers by the Local Government Board was 9s. 4½d. per head per week. Then what became of the surplus? She had discovered that a large portion of the surplus went into the pockets of officials. The speaker concluded by expressing her strong regret at the passage of Lord Dunraven's amendment to the recent Local Government Bill.

Miss A. E. Otter (Shop Inspector under the L.C.C.) pointed out that women inspectors required a large amount of physical

courage. It certainly did require courage to enter a low coffee house in the East End. She heard even of one factory manager who boasted that the factory inspector dared not enter his place. She thought that inspectors should rather persuade the people whom they inspected that their ultimate object was to improve the conditions of the poor, the health of the community at large, and perhaps also, indirectly, the health of future generations. She considered that the effect of certain special restrictions being imposed in factories would be to encourage the employment of men to the detriment of women.

Miss Butler (Inspector of tenement houses in the United States), showed how the work of women inspectors had been received in her country. One hundred and twenty queries were sent out to as many health boards, and out of the ninety returned, ten of the municipalities employed women on health board work, but only two as health inspectors. Chicago was the first city to institute a house-to-house inspection by women, and reports showed that their work was most satisfactory. Health boards had had numbers of pamphlets sent to them for distribution, but it seemed that people did not take the trouble to read and understand what was on the printed page before them. She wished to draw attention to the difference between the official inspector and the philanthropist. The former had behind her an authority which inspired confidence. Concluding, Miss Butler gave two specimens of remarks made by women visited by United States women inspectors. One, on being told of the steps to be taken to make her home healthier, said that had she known these things before, her children would not now be in the burial ground. Another declared she did not want any advice or help seeing that she knew all about children—she had already buried eleven. The aim of inspectors must be to elevate the poor in their homes, to aim at the realisation of the moral element in life. Any marked improvement in social conditions would depend upon making the ideal of the home the focus of all their efforts.

Mrs. M. A. Caine said that she came from a part of the United States where women held equal franchise with men. It was just as hard work for them to accomplish reforms as it was for English women ; but since they had had the franchise they had accomplished many. They had a lady in the Senate and two in the law courts. Men were astonished because women were paid the same as themselves. "What do those

women do for that salary? " they asked. Well, the taxpayers know what work the women did when they held these offices. She knew of cases where women had effected economy in public work, and she therefore wished to see the number of women workers augmented.

Mrs. M. Greenlees, in giving some information respecting the poor law inspection in Scotland, said there were no women inspectors in that country. The inspection there was unsatisfactory. On the general question she urged that a woman would naturally see many things in workhouses and infirmaries requiring reform which would escape a man's attention, and for this reason she advocated their appointment in such institutions.

Miss A. L. Henry, speaking on the subject of isolation hospitals, explained that in the country the rural district councils, which performed the same functions as the Asylums Board in London, managed the isolation hospitals. In these institutions the medical officers were, owing to the new super-annuation regulations, all young men who, she was sorry to say, did not attend the infectious cases as frequently as they should. One doctor told her he had not been to the isolation hospital for five weeks. Then the nurses, too, were worked night and day; they had to do the cooking as well as nursing; screens were supposed to be used, but were not used. To effect reforms in the directions indicated more women inspectors were wanted, as they alone would give the attention to detail which the case demanded.

Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy said the question was how to bring the public opinion which was being formed to bear upon the proper authorities. She had had experience of the difficulties encountered by reformers in 1870, when she formed one of a deputation to the late Mr. Forster, on the subject of women inspectors. They were then told that no inspector could be appointed who did not hold a university degree; and as a matter of fact no university had in 1870 opened its doors to women. So they had to bow and retire, grieving at the difficulties they had to contend with. She had a similar experience with the late Mr. Stansfield, and another Minister twice told her that while he was in entire sympathy with the introduction of women poor law inspectors, it would necessitate a complete reorganisation of the department to carry their proposals into effect. These were but types of the difficulties in bringing public opinion to bear upon those who had power to effect reforms. Believing that women were, if anything,

more conscientious in their work than men, she desired to see them introduced and mingle with the other sex in every department of work.

Mr. Byles called attention to Miss Otter's remark respecting the factory manager who boasted that an inspector dare not enter his place, and said that the arm of the law should be long enough to reach gentlemen of that kind. He was sure that both Miss Otter and Miss Anderson would be the first to desire to enter the factory of a man who thus defied the law. He did not think that inspectors should be the "friends of the workers." The inspector acted in a semi-judicial capacity, and should not take one side or the other. He or she should be looked upon by both sides as a judge or a policeman was looked upon. If there were a real desire to carry out the law they would require fewer and not, as had been advocated to-day, a larger number of inspectors. More inspectors were only needed because laws were being broken. In proportion as inspectors made employers understand that the law must be obeyed, fewer inspectors would be needed.

The Chairman, after expressing regret at the absence of those ladies who were expected to read papers, endorsed the view taken for the appointment of women as relieving officers instead of men, and this not only for outdoor relief but to attend those unfortunate women who went into the infirmary to be confined. During the three years she had served as a guardian she had been present at meetings when this subject had to be discussed with men; and she felt that they should not subject these poor women to the indignity of having to talk to men on the matter. She knew it was said that this class of women did not mind, but that did not relieve the guardians of the responsibility of increasing their modesty. She also desired to express concurrence with the idea that district visitors and workers in religious communities should teach hygiene in the homes of the poor. At present district visitors took practically no note of social subjects. If voluntary workers did more in this direction official inspectors would have time to devote to the greater matters which called for attention. She considered that women did their work better than men, and this was because women did it from a real desire to do the work, while a man did it because he had to adopt some profession. There was thus necessarily a difference in their respective work. They might, at any rate, look forward to the time when the work of women would equal the work of men. It was the

primary duty of every woman who took up public work to preserve her health. They heard a great deal of women being physically incapable, of breaks-down, and nervous prostration; and every woman who broke down in health injured the cause which she had at heart.

LITERATURE.

(A) WOMEN IN LITERATURE.

(B) THE ART OF POETRY WITH REGARD
TO WOMEN.

GREAT HALL, ST. MARTIN'S TOWN HALL,

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28, MORNING.

MISS EMMA BROOK in the chair.

Women in Literature.

Mrs. Flora Annie Steel (Great Britain).

THE subject I am given for this paper is far too wide for full or even for encyclopædic treatment as a whole, within the limit of time which I have at my disposal this morning.

For instance, even if I take the first and most palpable meaning of the words "Women in Literature," that is, the part or influence which women have had in forming it, I find myself driven back, like the Scotch minister who wished to explain the meaning of walking circumspectly, to that foundation phrase, "*in the beginning this world was made.*" For it is not too much to say that if the common mother of all women had not bartered her paradise of purity for the paradise of love more than three-quarters of the literature of the whole world would never have been written, since the old story

remains ever unwritten even to the writer, and there is no *finis* to the reader of that page of the book of life.

I do not, therefore, propose this morning to give you an abridged history of literature showing the part which woman has taken, or may be supposed to have taken, in the making of it. Still less shall I give you a string of names as well known to you as to myself, and point out the humour of this writer, the pathos of that. Least of all is it necessary to compare the writings of women with those of men and sound the trumpet of sex by proclaiming what women have done in literature; for the trumpet is the call to battle, and we are a peaceful congress, preferring the tongue to the sword.

And yet, ere I settle down to that brief glance towards the things which lie behind, the longer gaze towards the things which lie before that, for the present, has to be the outlook of women in regard to most subjects, I will make one claim for my sex. I have little doubt that woman is responsible for the first human document. It was a woman's hand which scored the first furrow on the breast of Mother Earth, a woman's hand which committed the first seed to her bounteous bosom, so it seems certain that it was a woman's hand which cut the first notch on a bit of stick to remind her of something in her arduous round of domestic duties, which was the beginning of all literature—that is, the representation of human thought by arbitrary signs or letters. No doubt I shall be told that a household account is hardly genuine literature. To which I reply humbly that even nowadays it seldom is; for the familiar item twopence three-farthings for stamps simplifies many an abstruse mathematical problem and reconciles many a conflicting total.

That does not alter the fact, so probable, if so incapable of proof, that the first symbol of an idea sprang from a woman's hand, a woman's brain.

And now for our brief backward glance. So far as the influence of women in literature is concerned there is little to be chronicled in the earliest ages. Here and there a woman's heroism, a woman's patriotism, live in the pages of men; but for the most part it is for love's sake that she is enshrined in them.

Nor when we take the thesis, "Woman in Literature," in its other sense is there much more to be chronicled in those dim ages of the past. No doubt many a worthy name could be unearthed from the dust of that dim past, but of those which, as it were, leap to the eyes, how few there are! How

few, indeed, those women who have left the echo of their silenced voices upon the ear of the world!

A dead queen or two perhaps, proclaiming her queenship on some solitary stone set in the desert; a voice or two like Deborah's, or Miriam's, shrill with strife—these are all, until close upon the dawn of our present era.

And these were no women of peaceful congresses, of arbitration conferences. Let us listen to their voices for a moment—to the triumph, the strength of them.

“They sank as lead in the mighty waters;
Terror and dread are fallen upon them.
They went down into the depths like a stone.”

That is Miriam's; and this is Deborah's—

“Till I arose a mother in Israel!
Then there was war in the gates!”

They do not fit in with our ideals of to-day; and yet, these voices, there is something soul-stirring in them.

And there are others of lesser calibre to show us that in those early days the strongest impulse towards the speech which remains came to women through their patriotism; a patriotism so founded on religion as to be inseparable from it.

Then on the heels of these speakers comes Sappho, and her impulse was love; love so absorbing, so enervating, that a great English writer has expressed his conviction that it is well that most of her poems are lost to the world.

In this backward glance, then, we see but two stimulants to speech—Faith and Sex. The rest is silence, even when St. Theresa and her like come to challenge Clemence Isaure and hers.

In this connection it is not a little curious and somewhat instructive to note that this same Religion and Love which made the few women speak kept the majority from words; since a kiss on the lips is apt to close them and a certainty in the mind keeps it from questions. So, although the consensus of opinion amongst scoffing men may be adverse to the conclusion, the most salient point in regard to women in the past is their silence.

It is idle to deny, however, that a *volte-face* to the present does not alter the complexion of affairs. Nowadays every other woman one meets has her fingers soiled with ink or flattened by the use of the typewriter. There is nothing sacred from the stylograph pen, which jots down even your mistakes as “copy,” yet nothing strikes me, personally, so much

in this prevalence of literary production as the high average merit of the result which comes from these inkings and flattenings. That there "are as good fish in the sea as ever came out of it" is true of many professions—of none more so than of the profession of writers nowadays; but in all the branches of this profession, journalism, fiction, history, science, woman is making her way with the seven-league boots of real progress. In some, indeed, her work is of more value than a man's, owing to that faculty for taking pains which has characterised woman ever since the time when the Creator—after putting man to keep and dress a garden most carefully prepared for his easy use with every tree pleasant to look upon or good for food—supplied a helpmeet for that incompetent labourer. This is most noticeable in the semi-serious work of periodical literature which furnishes the world with all the knowledge, the facts, it cares to know; not merely tabulated, but, as it were, tabulated like a compressed drug, ready to be swallowed painlessly, thoughtlessly.

Apart, however, from this—the woman's peculiar virtue of patient toil, a virtue denied of none, but of which some of the owners are beginning to tire—it is not to be gainsayed that over and over again nowadays a woman's literary work touches that of a man all along the line. Even here I decline to give names. There is no need for them. We have them in our hearts, or at least on our bookshelves.

True there are none as yet to sit beside the great Lone Masters in their semi-solitary state, but there are plenty to pair off with the names of men in, let us say, the hundred best books of the century. Literature has, therefore, become a profession, and a successful one, for women. Practically it is almost the only one in which she has to fear nothing save herself, pens, ink, and paper. In regard to qualifications I fear I cannot agree, however, with another speaker at a similar congress to the one now meeting, who, speaking on the same subject asserted that a woman joining this profession as her means of livelihood "must hold herself in readiness to write at any time; must be able, if necessary, to send a poem by return mail, or at least write up a whole continent with nothing but a guide-book and a dictionary of dates."

This appears to me even more appalling than the paper on Chinese Metaphysics, spoken of by another writer, which was prepared by collating the articles on philosophy and China in the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

Now this is not literature. It is symbol of nothing real.

The temptation to it is great, but it is fatal to both writer and reader.

But great as is the danger of these words without thoughts a greater one lies, I think, before most women writers. The majority of us are apt, quite unconsciously—perhaps to a certain extent inevitably, owing to the fact that the greatest masters of style and form in literature are men—to forget the enormous value which an absolute truthfulness to our standpoint as women has both to ourselves and to our readers in helping towards the realisation of actualities.

To obtain a picture which shall have a life-like solidity and truth, it is necessary, as in the stereoscope to take two pictures from two separate points in the circumference of that circle of which the object is the centre.

So, if we want to realise thoroughly what this world of ours means, both to the man and the woman, we must have the man's view and the woman's; for between them they make a stereoscope for life.

Therefore just in so much as we women try to be virile, just so much as we falsify our actual feelings and experience in order to reach after ideal ones which may be, and certainly seem, clearer, braver, bolder, in so much women writers lessen their value to the world at large.

There is no doubt that the better the work of men or women the more that work assimilates. But that is not because the standpoint of either has changed, but because the focus has been mutually adjusted. To return to the language of opticians, "the common-sense which gives its aid equally to both eyes is acting, and the result is—reality."

My simile goes further. If in these days the conflict of opinion between men and women becomes greater or less in inverse ratio to the nearness or farness of the subject under discussion to the personality of the seer, that is only because it is notoriously more difficult to adjust the focus when the angle of adjustment is wide.

That circumstances have combined to make this angle unnecessarily wide I admit. Some shifting of ground will be necessary on both sides, but in the end our only hope of truth, of reality, remains in the fact that the woman's eye shall remain the woman's, the man the man's. And this is more important in literature than in any other branch of woman's work, for it is to literature that we must look for the revelation of the woman herself—the woman who has been silent for so long. If in her books, her newspapers we find that love and chiffons

claim the largest share of the type, we can hardly blame the estimate which sets the woman's testimony at something which can be stifled by a kiss, smothered by an accordion pleating!

So it seems to me that every woman who takes up the pen, or touches the typewriter nowadays, should do so with the remembrance that she is giving yet one more impression to rectify the focus of the world. As for discussions as to whether this work or the other in literature is more suitable for women they appear to me idle, since the question must be settled afresh in each case on its own merits. This much is certain, there is no profession in the world in which the disability of sex is felt so little. It is not only practically *nil*, it is absolutely an advantage—for, if we are true to ourselves, if we tell what we know and feel, we shall have a tale to tell that will have, on many points at least, the merit of novelty.

Literary Professions.

Mrs. Carmichael Stopes (Great Britain).

IN spite of all hindrances, natural and artificial, intentional and unintentional, women have done good work in literature. It is futile to say that anything is impossible to a woman, if *one* woman has done it. One success proves that not sex, but individual circumstances may have been a bar to others. Therefore, while a man's name in a list of authors only counts for one, a woman's gives meaning and power to hundreds of ciphers raised by her from the rank of impossible to the rank of possible creators of literature. Every woman who nobly wields the pen helps to break down the "middle wall of partition" artificially built by men between the sexes, and to prove that genius, talent, heart, and brain are of no sex, neither is book-writing. This country has never fostered the genius of its women; up to the present half-century, indeed, its repression has been active. Men have been protected in every way against the competition of women. Therefore everything that a woman has done should be reckoned as of more relative value than the work of men. But, on the contrary, the standard applied to women has been, and still is, more severe than that applied to men. A woman has to do anything better than a man to be heard of amongst men. It would be fatal for a woman to make a mistake which might be passed in a man's

work. Women have not yet been judged in true perspective, nor by the "*lumen siccum*," or dry light of science. It is, or it was, a common masculine dictum, that women have no creative or originative faculty, no humour, no pathos, no fire, no sustained effort, no accuracy. Had I time, I could disprove each charge; having none, I make fragmentary suggestions.

I. Taking a rough classification, I may speak of women in relation to the Church. Since the days during which St. Bridget was converting the Irish kings, and St. Hilda was training the English bishops, women have contributed somewhat to the literature of the cloister. It is a notable fact that the first printed book of world-wide fame was written by a woman—in the cloister, it is true; yet no book of devotion, but "*The Gentleman's Academie of Hawking, Hunting, and Fishing*," by Dame Juliana Berners, Prioress of Sopwell Nunnery, in Hertfordshire. Probably written in 1440, it was printed in 1486, and so frequently since as to bewilder bibliographers. This pre-eminent "*Boke of St. Albans*" had a circulation which exceeded that of any other except the Bible, at least until the time of Bunyan's "*Pilgrim's Progress*."

In the sixteenth century the education of upper-class women, especially in language and philosophy, led them to become translators, and the special enthusiasm of the period led them to divinity. Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII., translated several religious works; the much-misunderstood queen, Mary Tudor, translated the Gospel of St. John from the Paraphrases of Erasmus, and allowed it to be printed with the others to be placed in the churches. Queen Katherine Parr wrote "*The Lamentation of a Sinner*," which ran through many editions. Amid the band of metrical psalm-writers who tried to reform the people through their songs, were Queen Elizabeth, when a princess, the Lady Jane Grey, Lady Elizabeth Fane, the Countess of Pembroke, and Mrs. Grymeston. Bishop Bale alludes to "many other fresh gentlewomen who likewise wrote." The hymnology of our country owes much to women, and there have been many notable religious books in prose. Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe's "*Devout Exercises of the Heart*" was the pocket companion of John Howard the philanthropist. Nor, in later years, have women shrunk back from the stiffer essays of Biblical Criticism.

II. Women in relation to the State. The first woman to work for women was Queen Mary Tudor who in her third Statute (a Statute may be called literature) established that

there was no distinction of sex upon the throne : whatever was true for a man was true for a woman. Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, in the seventeenth century, by her researches in ancient family histories, proved the old inheritance laws for females, and their political privileges. The position, the wrongs and the needs of women were never more clearly set forth than by Mary Astell, who wrote in 1694 regarding their need of Higher Education ; in 1696, a "Defence of the Female Sex" ; in 1700, "Thoughts on Marriage." She planted the seeds we are now beginning to reap. In 1789 Mary Wollstonecraft gave forth her elaborate "Vindication of the Rights of Women ;" and in 1825 Mrs. Wheeler inspired what Mr. Thomson penned, "The appeal of one half of the human race against the pretensions of the other half to keep them in Slavery ;" and in 1854 the Hon. Mrs. Norton wrote in her heart's blood, "English laws regarding women in the nineteenth century," which led to the sustained effort towards their amelioration. In politics, Mrs. Manley and Miss Macaulay were powers in the eighteenth century ; and in our own, Miss Harriet Martineau's books on Political Economy gave hints even to Prime Ministers.

III. We have had women historians, too, of all degrees, from Mrs. Macaulay to Mrs. Markham. Miss Strickland has built herself a monumental fame in her "Lives of the Queens and Princesses of England and Scotland." Many women of our own days may be placed in her rank. Few who have not laboured among uncalendared manuscripts can truly appreciate the patience, skill, and learning necessary to condense materials into calendars. Blessed among record readers is Mrs. Mary Anne Everett Green for her thirty-three volumes of "Calendars of State Papers." For the selection of a woman for this work (author also of the "Lives of the Princesses"), women should thank the Government. Beside History should be classed Memoirs, such as those by Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson during the time of the Civil War ; Lady Fanshawe's account of the same period ; Lady Rachel Russell's touching narration of her husband's times and troubles. The margin is narrow between memoirs and books of travel such as those of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Lady Duff Gordon, Lady Sale, Lady Baker, Miss Edwards, and Mrs. Bishop.

IV. Women have indeed entered even at the strait gates of Language and Science. In Philology Mrs. Elstob translated several Anglo-Saxon homilies, and was the first to compile an Anglo-Saxon grammar. Mistress of nine languages, she had to

support herself by teaching. Had she been a man, doubtless some sinecure would have been found for her, and opportunity and leisure would have increased her distinction. Mrs. Cowden-Clarke's "Shakespearean Concordance" still holds its first place.

In Astronomy, Miss Caroline Herschel gave hope to women, and Mary Somerville gave them confidence. Her "Mechanism of the Heavens" and "Connection of the Physical Sciences" have stimulated many of the scientific women since, whose papers may be read in the transactions of the British Association and other similar societies, and whose volumes stand on the same shelves as those by men.

In Archæology Miss Christian Maclagan's great volume, on "Hill Forts and Stone Circles of Scotland," represents but a fraction of her work on the field. Miss Amelia Edwards has become permanently associated with Egyptology, and Miss Harrison with Hellenic studies. The philosophic writers ought not to have been omitted.

In Medicine there are many old manuscripts by women, and books too. Miss Nightingale not only nursed, but wrote; and Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell and many lady doctors have made important contributions to their art.

V. Among miscellaneous writers, we may note Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, in James I.'s reign. She lies with her husband in Westminster Abbey, not on account of her literary merits, but her conjugal affection. Feminine literature has not yet been acknowledged in the Abbey.

As voluminous and even more varied, but more careful, and with a more direct intention to benefit her sex, Mrs. Hannah More instructed the close of last century and the beginning of this. Mrs. Hester Chapone and many others followed her. With these may be classed the writers in *The Female Spectator*, and *Female Rambler* of last century. Mrs. Lennox's "Shakespearean Illustrations" (1753) led the way to later critics. Mrs. Jameson may be said to have founded a new school in art criticism in her "Sacred and Legendary Art," and in many other books, such as her "Women of Shakespeare," nobly upheld her name. Mrs. Howitt's art criticism and travel-gossip, too, is worth reading to-day. The women essayists of our time are too numerous even to be named.

VI. There is more to say concerning works of the imagination. I have always believed that much of the anonymous poetry of our country has been written by women. Professor Skeat has certified three at least before 1500, the "Ballad of

the Nut-Brown Maid," "The Assembly of Ladies," and the beautiful poem of "The Flower and the Leaf." These two latter poems have hitherto been attributed to Chaucer.

Mrs. Catherine Phillips was praised by her friends Cowley and Dryden; and Anne, Countess of Winchilsea, was considered by Wordsworth to be the most original observer of nature between the dates of Milton and Thomson.

It was a joyful day to me when I discovered that the most touching, the most humorous, and the most warlike of our Scottish songs and ballads were written by women. Merely to illustrate: "Auld Robin Gray," was written by Lady Anne Barnard, and the rival versions of "The Flowers of the Forest" by Miss Jane Elliot and Mrs. Cockburn. Baroness Nairne gave us "The Land o' the Leal," "Caller Herrin'," "Wha'll be King but Charlie," and many kindred songs. Walter Scott tells us that the first ballad he ever learned, and the last he would forget, was "The Ballad of Hardyknute," by Lady Elizabeth Wardlaw, which kindled his romantic muse.

A group of domestic poets, essentially feminine, sang at the close of last century and the beginning of this. Mrs. Barbauld, Mrs. Opie, Jane and Anne Taylor, Eliza Cook, and, above all, Mrs. Hemans. Her romantic contemporary, Letitia Elizabeth Landon, wrote lays of the improvisatrice style. Only one of our sex, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, stands in the very highest rank of poets, yet close behind her may be grouped Christina Rossetti, Miss Proctor, Jean Ingelow, Mrs. Augusta Webster, Miss Constance Naden, whom Mr. Gladstone classed among the eight great women poets of the country. There have been some women dramatists. Even in Shakespeare's time, Mary, Countess of Pembroke, freely translated "The Tragedy of Antony" (1595), and Lady Elizabeth Carew wrote "Mariam, the fair Queen of Jewry" (1613). Mrs. Aphra Behn was distinguished among the profligate dramatists of the Restoration. Mrs. Manley and Mrs. Centlivre wrote later plays which are still acted. In this country Scott placed Miss Joanna Baillie at the head of the drama, and second only to Shakespeare, and many others are worthy of note.

I do not forget the female writers of fiction. Their name is legion. Mrs. Barbauld may be said to have invented the children's stories that have developed into such charming styles at the present day. Men are supposed to have entirely invented the *novel*, yet woman may be found remarkably near the sources of the different styles. Mrs. Aphra Behn wrote novels as well as plays between 1640-1689, and Mrs. Manley

in 1709. Mrs. Charlotte Lennox's first novel, "Harriot Stuart" (1751), brought her fame, and critical Johnson crowned her with laurels at the famous Devil Tavern, before a great company. Frances Burney created a new style for herself in her "Evelina and Cecilia," in 1752. Miss Jane Porter was the founder of the historical romance in her "Scottish Chiefs" and "Thaddeus of Warsaw." Maria Edgeworth's Irish tales, were the direct inspiration of Tourgueneff, the Russian, and of Sir Walter Scott, the latter generously acknowledging this in enthusiastic terms. Miss Jane Austen's pictures of English life he considered inimitable; Mrs. Anne Radcliffe he named "the first poet of romantic fiction." Mary Godwin's novel of "Frankenstein" is a powerful though unpleasant original conception. Miss Mitford from Hampshire, Mrs. Brunton from the Orkneys, Miss Catherine Sinclair from the North of Scotland, and Miss Ferrier from Edinburgh, sent forth original styles of novels which many men have not scorned to imitate. There seems to have been a sort of intellectual interregnum after these, during which neither men nor women sat on the thrones of literature. Then came a new outburst. Who among men has equalled the intensity of Charlotte and Emily Brontë? Who among them has risen above George Eliot's philosophic insight into human nature, her terse, quotable phrases, aye, even her humour? Her Mrs. Poyser has at last avenged Douglas Jerrold's Mrs. Caudle.

Le rôle et la situation des femmes dans la littérature française.

Mme. Dick May (France).

L'ASSOCIATION des femmes à l'évolution littéraire est en France une vieille tradition nationale. Il serait facile de la suivre en remontant le cours des temps, et de la dégager même de ces ombres qui enveloppent encore certaines formes d'existence sociale au cours du moyen âge français . . . Rassurez vous. Je ne vous mènerai ni si haut ni si loin. Je ne vous parlerai ni de Marie de France ni de Christine de Pisan, ni de la noble dame en robe de lin dont le trouvère, ivre de poésie, baisait, après l'inspiration, la blanche main de reine ; ni de la blonde châtelaine, altière et magnifique sous le triple diadème des joyaux, de la poésie et de la beauté, sur le trône

éphémère des Cours d'amour où sa traîne de drap d'or ondulait, éclatante d'orfèvreries, dans un sillage de splendeur, de griserie verbale et d'intellectuelle passion.

Je ne vous parlerai pas davantage du seizième siècle. Il y aurait beaucoup à dire, et comment oserai-je essayer en quelques mots de vous présenter la reine précieuse, Marguerite, reine de Navarre, la Marguerite des Marguerites, qui fut notre Boccace à l'époque où florissait le "conte," ou cette noble et savante Mlle. de Gournay, que notre Montaigne appelait sa "fille d'alliance" ? ou encore cette délicate Reine de France, qui trompa en littérature les nostalgies d'un lent exil à Ferrare, et se recréa, par droit littéraire, une petite cour de France parmi les marbres blancs et les longues minutes oisives d'une capitalette assoupie au soleil de l'Italie lointaine.

Et je ne vous dirai rien non plus du xvii^e ni du xviii^e siècle, et de la part prise par nos femmes de France à la merveilleuse efflorescence littéraire de ces temps souverains. Il y aurait trop à dire, et c'est à peine si la règle, l'inflexible règle des dix minutes, nous permettra de noter au passage quelques brèves observations.

L'*authoress*, en France, possède au xvii^e siècle une situation considérable. Cette situation est certainement proportionnée à la valeur de ses écrits. Elle implique peu d'exceptions ; le nombre des femmes en état de "jouer un rôle dans la littérature française" est relativement restreint, mais quelques-unes de ces femmes sont des écrivains de race, et deux ou trois d'entre elles ont accompli une tâche d'initiation. Ni Mme. de Sévigné ni Mlle. de Scudéry n'ont évidemment créé, l'une le "genre" épistolaire, l'autre le roman (mondain "galant," comme on disait au grand siècle (et fade, disons le entre nous). Mais l'une a frappé au fronton de toute la bibliothèque à venir, l'innombrable bibliothèque des *Correspondances* célèbres (et autres), celle des recueils et des romans épistolaires, son écusson finement niellé de Française et de grande dame. L'autre a popularisé (peut-être à l'excès) cette catégorie du roman dont il ne serait pas impossible de suivre la série, depuis le roman pastoral et de la carte du Tendre jusqu'à ce populaire roman d'alcôve, dont notre bourgeoisie ne semble avoir épuisé ni les monotones "hardiesses" ni les singulières délices.

Quant à Mme. de Lafayette, elle a tout simplement créé le roman psychologique. Les Bourget et les Hervieu, les Rod et les Prévost de notre temps descendent en droite ligne de la charmante femme qui, peut-être, entre deux discours de son

délicieux Nemours à son adorable princesse de Clèves, inspira les moins rudes de ces *Maximes* où l'ami des journées souffrantes, l'ancien Marsillon de la Fronde et de Mme. de Longueville, le La Rochefoucauld d'une maturité sans illusion, comprimait en petites phrases dures et précieuses l'amère expérience de sa vie.

Les dix minutes me pressent. Je ne vous parlerai donc ni de moralistes telles que Mme. de Sablé, ni de la place prise dans la littérature des Mémoires par la relation sereine de Mme. de Motteville ou le rageur et ingénu chef-d'œuvre de la grande Mademoiselle. Je ne vous dirai rien non plus de ce poste d'honneur que Mme. de Maintenon, épistolière d'ailleurs comme Mme. de Sévigné, comme Mme. de Longueville, comme Mme. de Grignan, occupe aux grandes gardes d'une littérature (la littérature d'éducation) réservée, elle aussi, aux flores, triomphales d'une postérité touffue. . . .

La compagne du grand Roi écrit (et prêche un peu) à cheval sur la limite de deux âges. Le xviii^e siècle roule ses belles années de grâce souple et presque féminine autour d'une si brillante gerbe, et si drue littérature et même science de femme, correspondances, poésie, pédagogie, roman, et même politique, et même métaphysique, que je n'ose même pas tenter la fortune d'une énumération. Ce passé, d'ailleurs est assez proche de nous pour vivre encore par le souvenir dans vos mémoires. Mme. de Lambert écrit ses *Airs d'une mère* ; Mme. du Châtelet ses *Institutions de physique*, et l'*Analyse* de la philosophie de Leibnitz ; Mme. d'Epinaÿ et Mme. d'Houdelot imprègnent de littérature les ermitages parmi lesquels le grand Rousseau, entre l'art qu'il a aimé et l'hypocondrie qui le guette, achève de mûrir ses idées, où palpite en germe la Révolution du lendemain ; et Mlle. de Lespinasse jette aux vents de l'esprit le plus incomparable cri d'amour dont jamais âme vivante ait subi la passion ; Mme. de Cencin cisèle les répliques galantes du *Comte de Comminges* ; Mme. Roland, à la place et au nom de son mari, rédige le *Courrier de Lyon*, et avec celles que je nomme, tant d'autres, qu'il faudrait dire, et que je n'oublie pas, ni vous non plus ; mais combien nous reste-il de nos dix minutes ?

Il est temps d'arriver à Mme. de Staël.

Au soir du xviii^e siècle et à l'aube du xix^e, Mme. de Staël, par droit de génie, installe la femme française aux Conseils de la littérature et de la pensée contemporaines. Jusqu'ici, la littérature a été pour les femmes un privilège, un divertisse-

ment, ou l'usage d'une tolérance aimable. Le roman a été une distraction pour Mme. de Lafayette, la correspondance un refuge pour Mme. de Sévigné, la pédagogie un devoir pour Mme. de Maintenon, la science une parure pour Mme. de Châtelet, l'article politique un acte révolutionnaire avec Mme. Roland. Pour aucune, ni un métier, ni un goût absorbant ou prépondérant, l'authoress parcourt nonchalamment les chemins sinueux du bois sacré où s'érige le temple des lettres. Tout au plus a-t-elle posé sur les premières marches du perron un jour de loisir ou de curiosité, le talon rouge qui coupe en deux son pied menu de patricienne. Avec Mme. de Staël, la femme française achève de gravir les larges degrés du portique, et—hardiment—franchissant les vestibules, s'élevant à la tribune publique, s'installe et siège au bureau d'où émanent les directions littéraires. Mme. de Staël aura sa postérité littéraire et philosophique comme précédemment Mme. de Lafayette, qui ne s'y attendait point, et, peut-être, ne le désira jamais ;—Mme. de Staël attendit et désira : et ce fut sa force—avec, au surplus, *Corinne, l'Allemagne, les Considérations*, le courage et le génie.

Mme. de Staël avait conquis ses positions, de haute lutte. George Sand apparut dans un éblouissement. Ces deux noms, l'un au seuil l'autre à l'apogée du xix^e siècle, dominent l'histoire et l'évolution de la littérature féminine à la veille de notre temps. L'un et l'autre ont une importance extrême, non seulement importance intrinsèque, mais importance de signe, ou de témoignage ; je vais tâcher d'en dégager, avec toute la netteté possible, le trait essentiel pour vous.

Le trait essentiel est le transfert de la littérature féminine, ou de sa direction, ou de sa représentation, d'une classe ancienne à une classe nouvelle de la société française. Il ne vous a pas échappé que le travail littéraire, jusqu'à l'époque où nous nous arrêtons, est avant tout un divertissement d'une suprême élégance, à l'usage de quelques femmes extrêmement délicates ou supérieures et très cultivées, fleurs de luxe élevées à la chaleur des privilèges dans la serre close de l'aristocratie héréditaire et des élites sociales. La Révolution a saccagé la serre, et brisé ou flétri les fleurs. Cette grande dame qui aurait pu être une autre Lafayette ou une nouvelle Sévigné, passe de la Force à la guillotine, ou déforme ses longues petites mains pâles et soyeuses à rincer, dans une cuisine de guinguette, les verres souillés par la grosse gâté du buveur de bière allemand. À vol d'oiseau, le rôle littéraire des femmes peut être tenu pour nul pendant la Révolution ; jusqu'au

moment où paraîtront les premières pages lancées à la rencontre du xix^e siècle par cette bourgeoise—Germaine Necker—qu'anoblit à peine, et tout fraîchement, son mariage avec le Suédois de Staël.

Mme. de Staël est une bourgeoise anoblie. Par une évolution inverse, George Sand est venue de l'aristocratie au peuple. Elle a du sang de Maurice de Saxe aux veines ; et elle a franchi d'un seul bond tous les échelons sociaux, la demi-aristocratie de sa naissance irrégulière, la petite noblesse provinciale du hobereau Dudevant, son époux de passage, et la bourgeoisie de terroir, qui l'entoure et l'étouffe, pour vivre avec des bohèmes ou des paysans, pour penser et sentir "peuple" et, à un moment de sa vie, pour modeler son âme sur l'âme d'un ouvrier typographe, qui fut Pierre Leroux.

Entre Mme. de Staël et George Sand, quelques femmes très d'élite reprennent capricieusement la tradition littéraire aristocratique. Le groupe des amies de Châteaubriand se distribuent un moment les tabourets d'une très noble Cour littéraire. Mais déjà, avec Mme. Récamier, la bourgeoisie, pénètre jusqu'à l'ultime sanctuaire, et, le sourire aux lèvres, s'installe dans le Saint des Saints. En face de Mme. de Souza, dont les romans n'auront qu'un éphémère succès de salons, se posent les réputations, l'autre plus durable, l'une plus brillante, de Sophie Germain et de Sophie Gay. Encore quelques années, et la fille de Sophie Gay—Mme. Émile de Girardin—partagera avec George Sand le principal rôle féminin de la littérature française au milieu de notre siècle. Le personnel de la littérature féminine s'est démocratisé avec le siècle lui-même. L'évolution des noms est parallèle à l'évolution des idées. Pendant que la noblesse française se laissait dépouiller de sa direction intellectuelle comme de sa direction politique et sociale par la bourgeoisie de 1819 et de 1830—en attendant 1848 et l'apparition du peuple—les femmes de la noblesse française laissaient tomber, de leurs délicates mains inactives, le sceptre léger de notre littérature embourgeoisée. Sournoisement avec Germaine Necker, franchement avec Sophie Gay ou Sophie Germain, la littérature féminine a deviné le peuple avec George Sand ; elle s'assouplit avec Delphine Gay (Mme. de Girardin) aux formes nouvelles de la presse, aux coups rapides, à la recherche de l'actualité, à toutes les exigences du journalisme quotidien ; après le tonnerre et les éclairs de 1848, après le grand vide du seconde Empire, après le deuil national de 1870, après toutes ces grandes leçons de choses écoutées dans le silence et le recueillement de

l'histoire—la littérature féminine se démocratisera résolument sous la troisième République.

De 1848 à 1870, les femmes de France ont peu produit en littérature. La vie politique d'abord, la vie des affaires ensuite, vie industrielle ou vie commerciale, absorbent pendant ces vingt-deux ans le meilleur de ce que la conscience nationale possédait en soi d'actif et de créateur. Ce fut une période de luxe effréné et de pléthore, orgie matérielle de tous les plaisirs et de toutes les magnificences, après l'idéaliste et merveilleuse orgie de toutes les idées, de toutes les utopies et de tous les espoirs pendant les courtes années de la seconde République. George Sand, aux heures d'illusion, mettait sa plume d'or au service du Gouvernement provisoire. Puis, le coup d'Etat accompli, George Sand se mit à écrire des romans "romanesques," et donna le *Marquis de Villemer* à la littérature française.

Avec la guerre franco-allemande, quelque chose dans la vie nationale apparait de nouveau et de différent. La France s'est recueillie après ses désastres. La France a réfléchi. Elle s'est trouvée coupable d'imprévoyance et de paresse ; et virilement, la France s'est appliquée à une tâche nouvelle de réforme et de réparation. Elle a retouché successivement tous les points de sa constitution organique, non pas seulement de celle qui se formule par la pondération des pouvoirs constitués, mais de celle qui s'exprime par l'éducation et la vie en société d'un grand peuple. Elle a réformé, transformé l'éducation de ses filles. Elle a voulu que la femme française aussi bien que le citoyen français pût vivre, autant que de son travail manuel, de son travail intellectuel, salarié, fier et indépendant. Elle lui a construit des maisons d'enseignement secondaire. Elle lui a ouvert ses universités—et la Française a accepté avec simplicité la tâche assignée par le pays. Elle a peuplé les Ecoles ouvertes pour elle. Elle a conquis les grades universitaires et le professorat ; la Française suffit aujourd'hui à son propre enseignement. Et elle est entrée presque en même temps aux Facultés de Médecine. Elle a forcé les portes de l'internat. Elle est à l'École des Beaux Arts. Entre temps, elle a frappé à la porte des journaux, des revues, des librairies, de toutes ces maisons où la littérature, cessant parfois d'être un jeu d'esprit, ne cesse pas forcément d'être un instrument d'émancipation ni de progrès, ni de réaliser la beauté, pour devenir un juste gagne-pain en même temps qu'une profession ; la plus noble de toutes les professions.

Tant qu'elles ont pu, les portes sont restées verrouillées. Puis elles se sont entr'ouvertes, lentement, jalousement, avec un évident regret ; mais enfin elles se sont entr'ouvertes ; et après quelques oscillations, quelques flottements, et certaines petites guerres sournoises, la Française, un peu effarouchée à la première vue de ce monde nouveau, a pénétré par l'entrebâillement ; puis elle s'est installée dans la littérature professionnelle avec sa tranquillité souriante, et son aptitude native à s'accommoder de tout.

Le nombre est très considérable aujourd'hui des femmes qui vivent de leur plume en France. Le journalisme politique leur est ouvert—de mauvaise grâce encore ; mais, comme la chronique littéraire ou l'article de revue, l'article de fond a dû céder ; or, ce qui est conquis ne se perdra plus. En recueillant au lit de mort de Vallès l'héritage intellectuel de son collaborateur, Mme. Séverine a été la première en France à diriger un journal politique—*le Cri du Peuple*—journal de polémique et de combat. Aujourd'hui deux journaux sont exclusivement dirigés, écrits et composés par des femmes. L'un d'eux, *la Fronde*, est un grand journal politique, populaire, féministe ; l'autre, *la Paix*, sert d'organe au groupe actif et remuant du féminisme chrétien. Un assez grand nombre des journaux comptent au surplus des femmes parmi leurs rédacteurs réguliers ; mais je n'ai voulu que signaler la récente adaptation de la littérature féminine à la presse, dont je n'ai pas autrement à m'occuper ici.

La presse périodique est plus immédiatement et purement "littéraire." La participation des femmes est de plus en plus considérable à nos grandes revues françaises. *La Revue des Deux Mondes* s'honore de collaborations comme celles de Mme. Arvède Barine et de Mme. Ch. Bentzon. *La Revue de Paris* a publié quelques précieuses chefs-d'œuvre de votre gracieuse compatriote, Mme. James Darmesteter. *La Nouvelle Revue* est dirigée par une femme, Mme. Juliette Adam. Les excellents articles de Mme. Marie Drouart paraissent avec régularité au *Correspondant*. *La Vie Parisienne* compte parmi ses plus élégants rédacteurs Mme. J. Marni et Mme. la comtesse de Martel ("Gyp"), par laquelle se rattache, à l'évolution démocratique, l'aristocratique tradition de notre littérature féminine ; Mme. la comtesse de Martel sait à la fois revendiquer la descendance illustre des Mirabeau et toucher de fort jolis droits d'auteur soit à *la Vie Parisienne* soit à la librairie Calmann Lévy.

Je ne poursuivrai pas cette énumération. Elle pourrait

prendre des heures, et vous ne m'avez donné que dix minutes. Tous les noms que je viens de vous citer comme noms de *revuistes* sont aussi des noms d'auteurs, connues dans nos maisons d'édition : je pourrais, et je devrais vous en donner bien d'autres, et Mme. Daniel Lesueur, et Mme. Jean Bertheroy, et Mme. Lucien Perey, et Jeanne Schulz, et Jean de la Brète, et Mme. Pauline Caro—combien encore ! Mais vous ne m'avez pas demandé un catalogue de librairie. Je ne garderai plus la parole que les quelques secondes nécessaires pour vous remercier, mesdames, de votre bienveillance, et m'excuser d'avoir si mal répondu à votre toute gracieuse invitation.

Women in German Literature.

Fraülein von Milde (Germany).

"LIBERTY is responsibility," says our greatest authoress, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, in one of her aphorisms. A whole education is shown in this word. What we seek in vain in dozens of books, Marie Ebner gives us in each one of her works—the redeeming power. She succeeds in educating us, in the highest meaning of the word. "The good is practised by the few who believe in it," she says in another aphorism. And it is not this great merit alone which must be attributed to her, but also the still greater one, that she penetrates the reader with her own belief. That is the highest aim of any artist. It is an infinitely higher one than that of depicting intensest passion or the charms and beauties of life. Her aphorisms are a treasure of wisdom. They are the testimony of a free soul, who feels responsible to herself. How one can grow to this wisdom is shown by the vigorous characters of her novels. The most prominent amongst them are inexorable to themselves; not as if they were strangers to nature, but because they have learned to know her. "Nature," says one of these women, by hard fate educated to strict performance of duty, "Nature, who cheats us, who drags every single person to her goals by the glowing chains of passion, to let us perish there; incomprehensibly cunning, immeasurably cruel, and sometimes totally blind—one must not follow nature, at least not without a struggle. One must by no means do what all do."

And the misery which is the outcome of the belief that

all women must marry, especially in the upper classes, is drawn in Comtesse Paula. A woman, fettered to a man she does not love, tries to warn her young sister from a similar fate. She says to the parents, "No expression is strong enough for the humiliation of having to acknowledge one's highest authority in a nonentity; and what hypocrisy there is in pretending to bow before one smaller than one thinks oneself. How one starves inwardly thereby! How one despises oneself! but only to crawl the next moment in due humility under the sanctioned yoke."

Only once Marie Ebner shows us a victim of passion. It was so surprising when the ethical authoress also chose the favourite of our most modern authors. But the title of the novel in question, "Unfühnbar" (Inexpiable) is characteristic of the mind and aim of our poetess. Maria, the heroine, the wife of the best of husbands, falls a victim to the fatal influence which is confounded so often with love, and which poisons life. This is symbolic. For many a poor, befooled woman does not learn the true conditions of love till she has thrown away her chances. The whole wealth of her husband's love is manifested to poor Maria after having forfeited the happy possibility of enjoying it. Hers is the dire punishment of having to compare daily and hourly the high-minded, innocent husband with the man who exercised the greater power over her.

These two men represent the two kinds of men on whom woman's destiny depends. The one demands as his privilege in every case, even in the unallowed, what the other, the noble man, will, even as a husband, only accept as a free gift. The best description is given of him by his own words: "Neither thy father nor the priest had the power to give thyself to me; thou alone canst do it." And the low-minded man is characterised by Maria, after having learned to discern by bitter experience: "Promise me. But not as the like of you promises a woman, whom to dishonour does not dishonour him. Why? Perhaps because she cannot call him to account." To-day woman is learning to call the other sex to account. But she had, like Maria, to experience endless suffering, endless disgrace, before she learned to understand.

The most interesting difference between Maria and characters of other novels who bear the same fate is, that those others extort the world's compliance with their trespasses, whilst Maria rejects the absolution given her by the most competent judges. She herself feels unexpiated; for she has

lost that which the world can never restore to her—self-respect. Self-respect is the beginning of everything we want to get. Think of every woman as having attained self-respect, and the terrible conditions we want to alter would have disappeared. Immeasurably more interesting, more worthy of our love than the weakly beggars for happiness whom we meet in so many novels, are Marie Ebner's conquerors over the different misfortunes. The hardest conflicts imaginable are here overcome. The most glorious fight is fought by the "Gumindakind"—the parish child. This piece of art is the best modern novel we possess either from men or women. The son of a murderer grows up struggling against prejudice, stupidity, and malignity, and nevertheless succeeds in becoming a good worker, an esteemed and self-reliant man. He was assisted by a splendid help, by the human love of the schoolmaster, who understands our time, for he says: "It is the greatest misconception to think every one ought to have children of his own; there are plenty of children in the world." And another time he says: "We live in a time which is, *par excellence*, instructive. Never has been preached more clearly to men—be self-denying. In former times it was possible for a man to sit calmly before his well-filled plate and to eat with relish, without thinking of his neighbour's empty plate. That won't do any longer, except with those who are spiritually in total blindness."

Equally strengthened by suffering, and equally developed to self-reliance is the woman in the *Todtenwacht*, "The Watch over the Dead." She is emancipated in the highest sense of the word; *she*, the poorest girl of the village, rejects the rich lover. He does not understand this in his haughtiness, and tells her: "You have nothing and are nobody." Like a triumph above all terrible reality is her answer: "There you are mistaken. Two good friends I have here!" And proudly she stretches out both her arms. "As long as these don't abandon me I am not abandoned. With us, Heaven be thanked, every one pulls through who asks for nothing but work." It certainly is not accidental that Marie Ebner chooses her most imposing characters from the oppressed classes. It is her love for those who are poor in joy, rich in suffering, which moves her to do so. And she succeeds in passing this love on to us. We bow before this great power, capable of conquering the hardest life by work. Work is a law of nature to the working class. And to acquire for all classes the acknowledgment of work as a law of nature will give us liberty, happiness, dignity. There is no higher

liberty than that of using our gifts in the best manner, for thereby we help to make others free.

There is no greater happiness than that of serving humanity, for the sublime duty of lessening the manifold misfortunes of our sisters will protect us against the dangers of egotism. There is no greater dignity than the command of our powers, our person, our love, which will enable us to purify, to raise the whole sex.

We are together here a chain of many links. The idea to make all work free to all forges us together. In our hands lies the power of making the weakest links of the chain strong. *This* truth once grasped and lived out, the woman-soul will lead humanity upward and on !

What Women have done in Italian Literature.

Mrs. Heinemann [Kassandra Vivaria] (Italy).

I HAVE been asked several times within the last few days, whenever I have had occasion to mention the subject that was allotted to me by this Congress, What Women have done in Italian literature, "But have women done anything in Italian Literature?" I will endeavour to answer that question now, as briefly, and yet as comprehensively as possible. The women of Italy—from the time of the barbarian invasions onwards—have won for themselves a threefold place in the literature of their country. They have been workers; they have been the inspirers, and they have been more than elsewhere the protectors of literature. As workers I fear that I cannot quote many names rising above the level of mediocrity, though I could fill half an hour by merely mentioning the women whose literary inclination led them, always with grace, if not always with originality, to pen verses and letters more or less in the style and with the same defects as characterised the masculine production of their peculiar age. They have acted as leaven in the mass; and each little poetess has brought her own grain of sand to the erection of that marvellous edifice which is the literary past of Italy, building humbly round the corner-stones, singing with the great singers whose voice will not be silenced. It does not matter much that their voices were often of small compass. It is of far greater importance on the present

occasion to learn that these women had the instinct of creative or melodious work, and that the spirit of the times was not opposed to their attempts. Leaving aside, however, the abundant crop of genteel, sometimes banal, but never untalented workers, whom I have not time to dwell on; leaving aside also with just a greeting the well-known names of Matilde Serao, the great painter of pictures; of Grazia Deledda, the delicate novelist of Sardinian life; of Ada Negri, the poetess of the poor, the hungry, and the down-trodden, whose first book of poems is perhaps the most directly inspired work I know, there are others who won fame for themselves in times gone by: Gaspara Stampa, 1523; B. Veronica Gambera, 1485, and Vittoria Colonna, 1490. Their poetry and their letters have borne without injury the weight of comparison accumulated by three centuries, and still stand erect monuments built by noble minds in noble language. Another woman whose place is marked in the literature of her country, and who would have been much surprised if she had been told it in her lifetime, is St. Catherine of Siena, that extraordinary type of passionate asceticism and warm-blooded charity who, in an age when no women had banded together to defend their rights, in a country where there had been no organised recognition of the rights of woman, if a great deal of exercise thereof, was the most influential personality in the letters and the politics of her day. A daring politician, an indefatigable worker, the terror of Popes and the conscience-scourge of princes, the strength of her personality animated a century, the same as her clear, dauntless, probing letters scoured France and Italy, and travelled, full of menace and of meaning, often heavy with achievement also, from Florence to Rome, and from Rome to the exiled Papal Court at Avignon. She lived between 1347 and 1380. But my object in speaking this morning is not so much to mention this or that woman writer of past stages in particular, as to lay stress on what has struck me more forcibly than ever, now that I have gone into the subject with a view of communicating my impressions to others; and what strikes me very much is this, that while the women of America, of England, of Germany, and of France, have had to stand up and fight for privileges which were their birthright, and which were denied them, the women of Italy have not enjoyed those privileges, simply because they did not choose to grasp them, for reasons of apathy, of indifference—let me say the word, though I blush to say it—of sheer animal and moral laziness; but never because they were denied them, or because their fathers and

husbands and brothers appalled them or oppressed them, or because going out of the beaten track meant being made a sign-post for the shaking of heads, and the scraping of throats, and the lifting of eyebrows. If we think of Italian women as workers, we find that the male portion of their family has from time immemorial left them free to do what most appealed to them, provided they did it well. The Italian is always ready to appreciate ability; as a rule, indeed, he is more easily conquered by ability than by worth; and he has never much minded bending in admiration over the gentler and wiser head of the woman who stayed at home while he fought the world's battles, writing, painting, carving, and sometimes plunging into the depths of science, and extracting from all this work, which not so many years ago would have been called unwomanly elsewhere, the secrets of life. The objectionably irritating sense which in the English tongue has been given by prejudice to the word womanly—that word which has so often and so mistakenly come between our aspirations and our possibilities of action—does not—and the fact, though small, is significant—exist in the Italian equivalent. There is no tremendous reaction from an unjust and unenlightened state of things needed in Italy; but only a keener comprehension of the truth that strength resides in union, and a better distribution of the forces that are often wonderful in themselves but powerless to help others, because they are locked in a too pronounced individualism. This tendency, soon leading to the complete spiritualisation of the individual, has been the feature of the Latin race, but its day is over. And now, unless a greater sense of balance, of distribution, be developed, it will topple over. Unless the isolated individuals agree to meet on a common field they will starve. The same as in the Anglo-Saxon race, where the greatest possible collectivity is nearly reached, the danger of the future is a general levelling of the individual to a medium standard, the merging of a strength into a common fund of energy, to the detriment of the personality of type, which is indispensable whenever new initiatives, be they social movements or artistic impulses, are acquired. Less coalisation for the Anglo-Saxon, who has the tendency to turn everything into a limited company; less individualism for the Latin, whose instinct is not to be interfered with, and to build himself a lonely hut to brood in. These are, it seems to me, the most obvious means of elevation for the former, and of salvation for the latter. And what is true for a race in general is now, at last, proved to be also true for

women in particular. Going back to the position of women at the period of which we were speaking, we find that surely their intellectual standing must have been high, judging by the place as inspirers which they occupied in the minds of their contemporaries; and as inspirers their influence on literature is greater all through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance than that of the women of other countries. Here we have not merely a series of madrigals sung to a woman's beauty, but a poem inculcating the learning, the history, the passions of the age, moulded round the memory of a child of thirteen; and that Dante did not love Beatrice Portinari because her eyes were of the strange blue-green colour he describes in the "*Vita Nuova*," but that he regarded her as the highest ideal of life is proved by his making her the allegorical figure of theology—theology, which was esteemed in his day as the consummation of human knowledge. I hold the "*Divina Comedia*" to be the greatest tribute we know to a woman's mind rather than to the womanly charms of a little girl who took a poet's fancy. And now, if we come to consider what women have done by their protection for Italian literature, we come to a spectacle which is perhaps not unique, but very rare in history. Every woman of birth or standing, from that Queen of the Lombards who gave sanction and protection to the first rudiments of literature, reappearing bruised and mangled after the storm of the invasions in the Latin attempts of the ministers of Christianity, onward to the brilliant Court of Eleanora D'Este, where the halcyon days of Torquato Tasso were spent; through the Medician period, when the gardens of the women loved by Lorenzo de Medici and his class were schools of wit where the best verse was sure to be appreciated; from the vigorous Caterina Sforza to the mysterious Lucrezia Borgia and the terrible Donna Olimpia Pamfili; all through the death-sleep of the Middle Ages and the brighter times of the Renaissance, women, even if not otherwise of very recommendable character, have done for the current literature of their day what the patient monks of the Order of St. Benedict have done for the learning and literature of the classical period. If the flickering flame of poetry was kept alive in many dark moments, notwithstanding the turmoil of intestine wars, of intrigues, of invasions, it is in great measure due to the warm breath of the many refined women whose own expressions were always correct, always graceful, sometimes inspired; whose whole sympathy was given to the heroes of the pen; due also to the strong women who protected besides appreciated.

I should like to say a word about the many women who in the Middle Ages did not shrink before the mysteries and unmitigated hard work of scientific study. But to speak of each one of these, if only to give the slightest sketch, would lead us on too far. But I will just say this: if an English woman of the early fifteenth century had dared attempt to teach her lords and masters anything, of any description, at the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, I am afraid she would have been burnt for a witch. But women were teaching mathematics and philosophy at Bologna and other seats of learning then, and through a longer period of time; and not only did no harm befall them, but the great men of their day showered admiration and approval upon them, as did Angelo Poliziano in his oft-quoted letter to Cassandra Fedele. If I have said very little, I hope nevertheless to have attained my end, which was to open a little broader the vista which has hitherto stretched out before English women concerning Italian women of the present and of the past. There is an abundance of literature accessible to many in the native tongue, if less accessible to others through not being often or well translated, quite sufficient if studied to prove true the two points I have suggested—first, that Italian women, far from having been fostered in an atmosphere of mere gallantry and beauty-worship, have all along had the instinct of protecting, inspiring, or contributing to literature, even when they did not—as is the case of one or two truly gorgeous types of female personality that lie before my eyes—unite the three duties of womanhood towards literature in one single life; and secondly, that from comparatively unenlightened times up to the present day, neither prejudice nor custom, nor mistaken notions of womanliness, often as deeply engrained in the female as in the masculine mind, have risen, as they may suppose, like foul gases, to stifle the expression of whatever form of individuality women may have possessed. And if we consider that there was a time when, to be the custodians of Italian literature meant being the custodians of the literary future of the Latin race, and that being the custodians of the literary future of the Latin race meant preparing the ground, fostering, inspiring, and refining the literature of the world, I think we may argue that Italian women who have done for prose and poetry what the Popes did for painting and sculpture, have not only done much for the literature of their country, but also a fair amount of indirect good to the literature of the world.

Women in Finnish Literature.

Mme. Aino Malmberg (Finland).

THOUGH the social and political position of Finnish women is better than it is in most other countries, there has not yet been any woman in Finland who has gained a great name in literature. Perhaps our civilisation, especially with regard to women, is still too young, and the outer state of things lacks the necessary stability, which might allow a full and free development of the intellectual faculties.

A very important movement in Finland which has certainly been very beneficial to our literature, though it has also had its great disadvantages, has been the strife for predominance between the Finnish and the Swedish languages. This strife has set its mark on our literature and on nearly everything done in Finland.

We have scarcely any woman writers worth speaking of until the beginning and the middle of this century. These latter all wrote in Swedish. The best known among them were Sara Wacklin and Fredrika Runeberg, the wife of our greatest poet, Johan Ludvig Runeberg. The former wrote many little stories that give a good picture of life in the small towns of Finland. The latter wrote historical novels.

It was after 1880 that the first Finnish authoress of any importance appeared. Her name was Minna Canth. She was the first woman who wrote realistic novels in Finnish. The marriage question, the woman's question, and many other ethical and social questions had in her an enthusiastic champion. She was Ibsen's contemporary, and his mighty influence is visible in her work. Nevertheless, her novels are true exponents of her time and of the customs of our country. She was not only our greatest woman writer, but may well be compared with any of our authors without losing her place among the very first. Minna Canth has not only written novels, but also some very popular plays. The loss to Finnish literature was great when she died in the spring of the year 1897; and we miss her more than ever now, when we should have needed the voice of this noble-hearted, patriotic woman to strengthen us in the hard trials of our nation.

Between the years 1880 and 1890 we had many authoresses who wrote novels with a purpose. Impulses from the mighty social movements in Europe found their way even to the shores

of Finland. The same questions which are dealt with in the works of Scandinavian writers of that time inspired even the Finnish authoresses.

Of these writers of novels with a purpose I will only mention the well-known name of the Baroness Alexandra Gripenberg, who was the first of our authoresses to deal with the woman's question in novels. She left her promising literary career rather early to devote herself to more practical work for women.

The religious novel and the naturalistic, the historical novel and the descriptions of rural life have also their representatives among the women of that period. One of the most popular describers of rural life is Theodolinda Hahnsson, now Baroness Yrjö-Koskinen.

During the nineties a sort of reaction began to make itself felt against the great social questions in literature. The novel with a purpose gives place to analytical descriptions of the inmost feelings and emotions.

Among the authoresses of this tendency I may mention Maila Talvio, though on account of her youth and the comparatively short time she has worked in literature, it is impossible to say what position she will eventually take among our national writers.

Naturally we have also women who have not forgotten the children's literature. Among them I will mention in the first place Toini Topelius, the daughter of our much beloved poet, Zachris Topelius.

In scientific literature not much has been accomplished. Some writings by women have appeared on medicine, mathematics, pedagogics, &c.

But I must mention another kind of workers, whom I consider peculiarly Finnish. I mean the peasant-singers who sing their melancholy runes of bygone days and the sorrows and joys of the present. Many of these singers are women who can neither read nor write, so it may perhaps sound curious to place them among the workers in literature; but yet I think I have the right to do so, as they have enriched our literature by giving to it hundreds of beautiful songs. Though they cannot write they can sing, and others put the words on paper. Most of those singers never become famous. They only sing their songs to their children, who teach them to others, who continue to pass them on.

The best known among the present peasant singers is Larin Paraske. She is old now, but her wonderful memory is still

unweakened. There have been printed 1,500 epical and lyrical songs, wedding songs, weeping songs and spells, besides 300 proverbs and 336 riddles by her. Such songs as hers and other peasant poetesses' are touching by their artless beauty. Living in close connection with nature, those poets are untouched by the many movements and the nervousity of the outer world. They learn their songs in the deep forests of Finland, the very soul of which they seem to be able to put in their sad runes.

As I have already said, there is at present no woman in Finland whose name would be great enough to throw glory over our literature; but our people is still young, and I hope its strength is not yet spent. In one of the Finnish runes we read that "our songs are made of sorrows." Now the time of sorrows is come to Finland, but perhaps the time of songs will follow. Perhaps the prophecy of our national hymn will be fulfilled—

"And prouder far shall sound ere long
Our Finnish patriot song!"

Women in Danish Literature.

Fru Emma Gad (Denmark).

THE participation of Danish women in literature dates far back, and what they accomplished in the period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is perhaps of greater value than their modern literary works, because it was the ladies in the country seats and castles who, with their maids, have collected and written down the beautiful national ballads, whose subjects are so intensely filled with sentiment and symbolism that they have formed the deepest expression of the people's poetic conception, and are still known to all. This was, however, in few instances the original poetry of women. The first authoress of real national importance was the richly-gifted daughter of King Christian the Fourth, Eleonora Kirstina, born 1621; she was married to Count Ulfeldt, and with him involved in the accusation of high treason. After the death of her royal father she was held in prison by his successor for about twenty years. In prison she wrote her memoirs, which were found some years ago, and in this most remarkable book she has shown the grandeur of her soul, and a knowledge of herself that is unique

in Danish literature of memoirs. The writing of the women of the eighteenth century consisted almost entirely in memoirs, in which this period is so rich all over the world; but in the beginning of the nineteenth century appeared an authoress, Mrs. Gyllembourg, who in Denmark laid the foundation of the daily-life novel, a branch of literature that up to that time had been but poorly cultivated. Mrs. Gyllembourg, who was the mother of one of our most appreciated poets, Johan Ludvig Heiberg, had an enormous success by this attempt in a new branch, and was, on account of the realism of her talent, able to exercise a great influence upon the coming feminine authors, because a sharp sense of observation always will be a more prominent faculty in the feminine nature than lyric sense and poetic fancy. The woman upon whom Mrs. Gyllembourg has had the greatest influence was undoubtedly her daughter-in-law, with whom she lived, Mrs. Johanna Louisa Heiberg, the greatest Danish actress that has ever lived.

Mrs. Heiberg, who died only a few years ago, has taken a most remarkable part in Danish intellectual life. She was married to the greatest poet of the day, her house was visited daily by all the celebrities in science and art, and as an actress she had such a power over the minds of others that all who have seen her on the stage, the most ordinary and the most intellectual people alike, still mention her with the greatest enthusiasm. Whilst engaged at the theatre she wrote some small plays that are still much admired, but after retiring she wrote her memoirs, and this most interesting work has secured her a place in literature as one of our most remarkable authoresses. The book tells her own life almost like a fairy tale, how she, a poor little Jewish girl, runs about in the street, and later, by her own genius, gains a position almost like that of a queen; but it is because the book is so full of human experience and technical knowledge of the difficult art of the stage that it is valuable, and will always remain a standard work for dramatic authors and artists.

About 1850 the first champion of the women's cause in literature appeared under the pseudonym of Clara Rafael. She was in advance of her time. At this period the Danish women lived inside the house, merely occupied with household work, needlework, and with the duties of society; and the theories of Clara Rafael were not appreciated. But by and by, as the great wave of women's emancipation from England and America poured forth and reached Scandinavia, of course the Danish female literature was filled with this new spirit, and

I believe that Danish women in literary and æsthetic questions are now standing on the same level as their sisters in other countries.

As an instance, it may be observed that in Copenhagen there exists a ladies' reading society, with a modern library in all languages that is the envy of men, and has a circulation of about sixty thousand volumes a year. True the present time is not very productive of important feminine authors, perhaps because the energies of women are employed in a greater number of ways than formerly. Some are occupied in journalism, both in the daily press and in the ladies' newspapers, of which there are several in Copenhagen; others are scientific authors, as, for instance, Miss Ida Falbe-Hansen, president of the Danish Women's Council, a highly-estimated historian of literature, and Miss Kirstine Fredriksen, who has written several most valuable psychological works, and has been awarded a prize from the university. Yet the realistic novel has its talented representative in Mrs. Erna Juel-Hansen; Mrs. Johanne Schjorring writes novels that are appreciated as good family reading, and lyric poetry is beautifully cultivated by Mrs. Blicher-Clausen, and especially by Mrs. Magdalene Thoresen, mother-in-law of Henrik Ibsen. She has not yet laid down her pen, although she has just celebrated her eightieth birthday under general homage. When only so few authoresses are to be named, the reason is, perhaps, that there exists a largely developed common intellectual life between the three Scandinavian countries. Several Norwegian and Swedish lady authors have their publishers in Copenhagen, and their works are received with the same interest as if they were Danish; for instance, the Norwegian richly-gifted writer of modern novels, Mrs. Amalie Skram, the Swedish Miss Selma Lagerlöf, who became famous throughout Scandinavia by her first attractive book in praise of her native country, and Mrs. Mathilda Malling, a Swede, whose novels from memoirs of the first French Empire are much admired. In dramatic literature Danish women are not much represented, probably because dramatic writing is so concentrated and stringent that it always will remain difficult for feminine faculties to cultivate. Yet in this combination I cannot omit to mention several comedies written by myself, some merry and others of a more serious nature, which have been played of late years with more or less success at the Royal Theatre, and on the other stages of Copenhagen, and have found their way to most of the towns of Scandinavia. One of them was last year played in Paris at

the newly started Théâtre Féministe. Of course I succeeded best in the feminine parts, and surely a woman will best be able to interpret the manner in which women speak together of the affairs that appeal to the heart and soul. A Danish authoress in this respect receives valuable assistance from the actresses. Danish actresses occupy a good and well-deserved position in Art, not only because they are well schooled in a traditional and national mode of playing, but, apart from their talent, they are excellent wives and mothers, and on this account hold a highly-respected position in home and social life. I almost think that I have found the homes of some actresses more intellectually refined than any Danish homes I have known, and our dancers of the Royal ballet are thoroughly respectable young ladies, whether married or single. As little children they come to the theatre, where they have an excellent school, and are taught languages, history, and other school disciplines. It is sometimes suggested that the talent of the Danish actresses lacks the grand style, because their own lives are deprived of passion and love affairs. Perhaps there is a grain of truth in this opinion, but on the other hand it is certain that there is an exceptional charm and refinement in the Danish dramatic art, because it is represented by intellectually cultivated and quite respectable ladies. Those who have the advantage of having seen the acting of Mrs. Bibby Hennings, of Mrs. Oda Nielsen, and Mrs. Anna Block in the plays of Ibsen, must have received the impression of the northern spirit, and will more readily realise how firm a hold the theatre has upon the minds of the people, and why it was that he, the greatest of modern dramatic poets, should prefer to have his works first played at Copenhagen. Altogether, the æsthetic life is strongly developed in Denmark, sometimes a little at the expense of practical and political interests. In Denmark, as elsewhere, opinions are contradictory, generations and classes are fighting against each other, prejudices are removed and barriers done away with. We all know that talents are more fully developed in times of strong intellectual struggles. Danish art and literature seem now to be flourishing; and as women now are taking a prominent part in actual life, there is every reason to hope that among Danish women there will arise young and fresh geniuses, who will be the pride of their country and their sex.

Work of Dutch Women in Literature.

Mrs. Kapteyn (Holland).

THE best I can do on the present occasion is to introduce you to a few of our ablest women writers in the recent past and at the present moment who have done most to stimulate modern thought and action.

Towards the end of the last century Elizabeth Wolff and Agatha Deken, two ladies who in lifelong friendship collaborated in all their literary work, published two novels which have become classics in Dutch literature. The names of these books are "Sara Burgerhart" and "Willem Leevend" (published between 1782-1785). They are written in letters, and belong to the class of fiction so fitly called in French *roman des mœurs*.

These novels are as perfect in their kind, as thoroughly characteristic of the land of their birth as the best of our celebrated pictures.

Dutch to the core, they give most typical and humorous sketches of Dutch character and Dutch surroundings at that time. To read, for instance, in one of these books the capital description of a fussy housewife affords not only great amusement but also great satisfaction at the gradual evolution of this rather troublesome and useless type of womanhood. These two novelists, belonging to the great romantic school of the eighteenth century, surpass their masters, Richardson and Rousseau, in one respect: they possess, with a wholesome cheerfulness, a true sense of humour and wit, which gives a welcome relief to the somewhat sentimental tendency so common in writers of this period. Yet this playful gaiety of spirit never injured their moral insight and wisdom. For both these women felt deeply their responsibility as writers of fiction at a moment when the novel became more and more the favourite and most popular form of literary production. They were supremely determined to use their influence for good. Impelled by strong convictions, they unsparingly held up to ridicule and censure the defects of their day. They proved to be keen detectives of sham and cant, in whatever form it might appear. This fearless frankness threatened to get them into difficulties, and for a time they left the country in fear of persecution. They however soon returned, and

their great talent and integrity of character gained in the end general recognition.

The woman who has achieved most in Dutch literature in this century is Mrs. Bosboom-Toussaint (1812-86), the wife of the celebrated painter Bosboom, whose exquisite church interiors are well known in this country. There is a wonderful harmony between the respective geniuses of these interesting people. Some of the mystic light of the painter's churches dwells in the souls of the novelist's heroines and heroes. The background of her stories always represents some remarkable epoch in the history either of her own or of foreign countries. By the wide range of her historical knowledge, and by the power of her imagination, she became one of the great historical novelists of her time. There is a decided affinity between her genius and that of Sir Walter Scott. Both he and Lord Byron were greatly admired by her.

Amongst her many historical novels perhaps the two most important are "Count Leicester in the Netherlands" and "The Women of Leicester's Time."

The second period of her activity is chiefly devoted to psychological studies in character. One of the finest amongst these is called "Major Frances," and tells the life of an exceedingly independent and original young woman, Frances Mordaunt. This novel is one of the finest in our literature, and is translated into English, French, German, and Swedish. Mrs. Toussaint was an extremely prolific writer; she published twenty-five volumes. The literary excellence of these big books is not always on the same high level. Yet, when all is said, she is, and will remain, a novelist of the first rank, because of the almost mystic power with which she deals with immense subjects, great historical events, and psychological problems.

While Mrs. Bosboom-Toussaint was still gaining in popularity a very young writer, barely more than a girl, followed in her footsteps as an historic novelist—Miss Adèle Opzoomer. This writer published in the seventies several historic novels of considerable merit.

One of her most celebrated books is called "Royal Favour." It treats of a most interesting period in the history of Sweden at the time of Gustave Wasa. Attractive personalities, deep thought, and tender feeling lend this book a rare charm. An English translation came out very soon after the first publication.

Soon after Miss Opzoomer's brilliant success a great

revival took place in Dutch literature. It was inaugurated by a group of enthusiastic students in Amsterdam about 1880.

Young Holland revolted against the somewhat lifeless and conventional literature of the day. The new impetus and meaning given to life in the latter part of our century strongly influenced the rising generation. They coined new words, moulded the language into greater perfection, forcing into it the spirit that moved them. The movement was one partly in the direction of naturalism, partly in the direction of sensitivism. Efforts were made for the highest excellence of literary form. Since Vondel Holland had not known such ardent literary devotion.

In this literary circle two women distinguished themselves by the writing of very fine poetry; their names are Hélène Swarth and Henriette v. d. Schalk. Both used very successfully the sonnet form, just then revived, and considered most fit for lyric poetry.

Hélène Swarth is pre-eminently the singer of love, of all-absorbing passion. She is the lyric, the purely subjective literary artist of the life within, in its intense longing for personal attachment and companionship. Her illusions and disillusionings, her hope and despair, her final attainment, are expressed in great beauty of language. She is unique within this sphere of art; she never got beyond it. The great outer world did not disturb her.

In this respect Henriette v. d. Schalk is a decided contrast to her. She also has written some fine lyric poetry, in which contemplative thought mingles with deep feeling. Literary activity alone could, however, not satisfy this eager and passionate spirit. Like so many of her contemporaries, she was drawn irresistibly towards the great social struggle of the day, and joined the re-organised labour party. She became one of the editors of the newly started socialistic monthly review *The New Time*.

Her conversion, and that of a few other well-known writers and artists, to the social democratic party marks the turning of the tide in the literary and artistic movement in Holland at the present moment. It is a telling evidence of the ever-increasing hold which the social problem is gaining over the hearts and minds of our most gifted men and women.

The literature of pure form and of mere subjective inspiration is gradually giving way for a supreme pre-occupation with the social and moral sides of life. There is a growing need, a

corresponding desire to connect more intimately thought and action, art and life. Women are amongst the first to fully realise the utmost importance of such a connection, of the want of this inter-action. Their quick sympathy, their deeper moral insight, their sensitiveness, fit them pre-eminently for this more humane and fuller conception of literature. There is great promise here for future development of women's literary work. Even if perhaps at first their attempts may lack the master-grip of the highly skilled literary specialist, the full power needed for the higher service may be gradually acquired. Perfection of execution cannot at once be attained under the higher pressure of new demands and new ideals. Out of genuine sentiment, clear intelligence, and true devotion the new and harmonious method will gradually evolve.

One of the noblest women-workers who earliest became an influence in the direction of introducing a more distinct social and moral element in literature is Hélène Mercier, who is also the founder of the first social settlement in Amsterdam. In theory and practice, by writing and doing, she set an example to our young men and women already in 1875, inspiring them for the cause of women and of the people.

Her essays on women's emancipation and social questions, and a fine translation of Elizabeth Browning's "*Aurora Leigh*," have been of widespread influence.

Our queen-mother presented Miss Mercier, in recognition of her literary activity, with the Order of Orange-Nassau, a distinction which no woman had yet received.

A little pamphlet published by this writer about 1878, named "*Towards the Mountain-top*," was a call to the young women of that day to try and obtain higher education and show more interest in social work.

This essay did at that time with regard to the women's movement in a small circle what at the present moment a novel called "*Hilda van Suylenburg*" is doing amongst a very much wider circle of people. The latter, written by Mrs. Goekoop, the president of last year's exhibition of women's work at the Hague, has thoroughly popularised the women's question in Holland.

It contains, in a form peculiarly fitted to touch the multitude, an eloquent plea for the emancipation of women. Full of the burning questions of the moment with regard to marriage, to an equal standard of purity between the sexes, of higher education, etc., it accomplished an almost sensational effect, especially in those circles of society in which prejudice and

convention are strongest. A similar effect was caused by another woman's publication of that same date. Miss Cornelië Huygens, a writer already well known as a clever novelist, published a social novel called "Barthold de Meryan." This novel describes the conversion of a young man of the upper bourgeois class to socialism. The story is told in a fascinating way, and even those who differ in political views must respect the genuine enthusiasm and conviction of the writer in pleading the cause of the suffering masses. Like every book springing from the very heart and soul of its writer, it holds the public, and, by describing the development of a faith and a conviction, comes to many as a revelation of their own sympathies and hitherto unformulated ideas.

And herewith ends my attempt to give you a general impression of at least some of the work done by women in Dutch literature. In gathering together these few fragments it was a satisfaction to find that throughout the writings of these women excel in moral and mental soundness, in deep earnestness and conscientiousness.

In this respect they have set an example to follow, and fortified our faith in the capacity of our sex for enfranchisement and emancipation.

For these women have shown, besides their readiness and ability in serving their own cause, a large-hearted sympathy for the general welfare of humanity.

The Art of Poetry with Regard to Women Writers.

Lady Lindsay (Great Britain).

POETRY, like her sister Music, was probably first inspired by the voice of the wind. "The wind," the Bushmen say, "was formerly a person; he became a bird." Poetry is not the product of civilisation, nor even necessarily a child of Nature, but rather of solitude and contemplation. We may polish our style and metre, form our taste and cultivate both imagination and intellect to a high degree—yet all this will not give us the true spirit of Poetry. The poetry of primitive ages was evoked by the influence of mountain and mist, lulled by the forest crooning, or taught by the moan of sea-waves. The din of tempest roused her to rhythm as surely as the sighing of

slender reeds. Syrinx murmured melodiously among the Grecian waterpools, but none the less persuasively have green-clad fairies beckoned to the lonely wanderer on a north-country moorland. In solitude the poetic mind learns to listen and to watch, until a divine instinct, a new intuition (almost a sixth sense), comes to inspire and command.

Poetry may spring to life in any spot where such mental solitude is attainable; yes, even in the crowded mart, even in the most sordid alley of a mushroom city. It is a trite saying that a poet is born, not made, and, truly, his parentage means much, and often he can hark back, as the saying is, to some Celtic strain in his family tree, or some alliance with the South or the Orient, or at least recall certain circumstances poetic—as we may term them for want of a better word—which have affected his progenitors, inclining them to such a view of life and daily things and persons as is in itself poetry. Those progenitors may never have expressed themselves. For, as we all know, there are many silent poets, namely, those who do not speak but only appreciate; there lives many a “mute inglorious Milton.”

Glancing back to the earliest recorded poetry, it would seem as though the art has not greatly improved since. Even before the brilliant ages of what we call the classics, where is more beautiful imagery to be found than in the Song of Solomon or in the 23rd and 104th Psalms?

How we long for a clue to the music of Jubal! It was united with verse, surely. Does not George Eliot say:—

“Then Jubal poured his triumph in a song—
The rapturous word that rapturous notes prolong
As radiance streams from smallest things that burn,
Or thought of loving into love doth turn.”

We read poetry in our armchair nowadays, weighing the merits of Tennyson and Browning, Rossetti or Matthew Arnold. But in olden time a poem was a call to arms—also a requiem after a battle as well as an account of it. Later on in European history came the jongleurs and troubadours with their ballads and love-stories. Romance crept in to soften the accounts of war and chivalrous adventure, while in religion metrical hymns—both in the Latin and the Vulgate—increased with a rapidly increasing knowledge of music.

It were difficult to say what is the actual mission of modern poetry. Is it to amuse, to interest, or to elevate? A lady once exclaimed to me: “Poetry? Oh, I loathe poetry!” And,

just as there are people born with extreme shortsightedness, or without an ear for music—so are many devoid of the faculty of enjoying poetry. Life is to such a thoroughly prosaic occupation. "To see things as they are" is their proud motto. Ay, but are things necessarily as some folk see them? Set half a dozen authors to express one theme, half a dozen artists to paint from one model. Will not each produce a different result? Who shall say what is Truth, and, moreover, what is Beauty? Some of us see beauty there where others can only distinguish ugliness or at best conventionality.

The world is surely much as we make it. The most brilliant sunset is nothing but an accumulation of dust, we are told, glorified by prismatic effects of light. Some of us behold the sunset, some only the dust. Again, many beautifully tinted submarine objects, both animal and floral, become absolutely monotone when brought to light from the still depths of ocean where the hardy diver discovered them, and where he alone beheld them in their perfect beauty.

Again, few of us can hear either the shrillest sounds of Nature or the deepest.

"Among the Romans," said Sir Philip Sidney, in his "Apologie for Poesy," "a poet was called *vates*, which is as much as a diviner, foreseer, or prophet; so excellent a title did that excellent people bestow upon this heart-ravishing knowledge."

Dryden wrote: "A poet is a maker, as the word signifies; and he who cannot make, that is invent, hath his name for nothing."

For the word poet comes from the Greek *ποιητής*, or *ποιέω*, "to make."

Another interesting derivation is that which gave rise to the name of Trouvère or Troubadour, viz., the French verb *trouver*, to find. The poet of the Middle Ages was accredited with the gift to find what others could not see.

And here it may be fitly observed that in true Poetry sense is never sacrificed to sound. Sounding words are notes and chords by which our symphonies, cantatas, and oratorios of language are built up; the progressions must be sweet, but the real melody is the subject-matter, while the harmony, which may be represented by grammar and style, completes the loveliness and majesty of the composition.

But time is pressing, and I am here to speak of poetry in relation to women writers.

Have women ever excelled in the art of Poetry? Alas!

however they may have otherwise distinguished themselves in realms of literature—and as novelists most specially they have attained to the highest rank, to say nothing of many elegant writers of memoirs, essays, and epistolary records—women have seldom practised the art of poetry with any great or enduring success.

Sappho heads our meagre list. Born 625 years before the Christian era, her name yet lives by reason of a kind of verse called Sapphics, which she is said to have invented. It is curious to read that she was the centre of an æsthetic club founded by the Lesbian ladies at Mitylene for the study of music and poetry.

"Among the mutilated poets of antiquity," writes Addison, "there is none whose fragments are so beautiful as those of Sappho. . . . Her soul seems to have been made up of love and poetry. She is called by ancient authors the tenth muse."

From Sappho downward is a far and somewhat empty cry. The poetical classics of Japan, attributed to women, are unread by us. We must leap to a time but little previous to our own, when in England Mrs. Hemans, L. E. L., Joanna Baillie, Mrs. Barbauld, and Eliza Cook were celebrities. Nearer to us, in more ways than one, are Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Adelaide Procter, Christina Rossetti, and Jean Ingelow. I might also mention Emily Hickey and Amy Levy. The only metrical woman writer of a much earlier date is Lady Winchilsea, a contemporary of Pope, whose poems have been much commended by Wordsworth. Nevertheless, at various times the purely lyric muse has flourished, rightly enough, in feminine hands. Lady Nairne, at the close of the eighteenth century, added several ballad gems to the northern treasury, such as "Caller Herrin'" or "The Land of the Leal," while no Scottish anthology is complete without "The Flowers of the Forest" or "Auld Robin Gray," and some of the most delightful Jacobite ballads have been written by women. Also, within the recollection of many, were Mrs. Norton and Lady Dufferin, daughters of Sheridan, dowered with the gift of song.

I would it were possible for me here to speak of our present-day women poets, several of whom have evinced not only much promise, but much literary fulfilment. It were invidious to criticise or even mention these, though several names spring to my mind as well worthy of the record of fame. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the twentieth

century loudly calls for a female Shakespeare, or Milton, or Herrick, or Æschylus, or Virgil, or Dante, or Goethe, or Heine, or Molière, or—no, no—I will cease to enumerate.

Shall a great woman-poet yet arise for us?

I have often thought that men are more addicted to poetry than are women, both as to the writing of it and the loving of it.

There would appear to be two reasons for this. The first may be soon dismissed, as it holds good wellnigh as much with regard to masculine as feminine work. I mean that poetry is seldom, if ever, lucrative. Poetry is the poor Clare among literary sisterhoods. She belongs, so to speak, to a mendicant order; she goes barefoot and asks little beyond the sustenance of appreciation, knowing that it is not for her to command great prices and grow rich. And women—as the lives of Mrs. Oliphant, Mrs. Trollope, and many more can show—have perhaps oftener than men been urged into the paths of literature by need of providing for their dear ones, for men have greater choice of professions.

But here is the second reason.

The busy or working woman and the idle or frivolous woman are both to be found in plenty. Each, in her own way, has no time for poetry. The meditative woman is required. Does she exist?

Men seem to appreciate the soothing qualities of poetry by very contrast to the stirring life they lead. It is the active soldier, the hospital chaplain, the keen-tongued lawyer who is most apt to slip a book of verse by the side of his shaving-brush for five minutes in the morning. Women, by nature more introspective and subjective, finds sufficient sentiment in her own aspirations or disappointments.

I maintain that woman is less *objectively* meditative or contemplative than man. But grant that in some cases that this is not so. *Can* the ordinary woman meditate, even if she *will*?

To say nothing of the claims of a husband, of friends, or of children, is there not for most women a daily round that creates the worst possible preparation for a poetic state of mind? The grocer, baker, butcher, &c., call for orders, letters require immediate answer, a water-pipe has burst, the cook wants to know this, the housemaid that. "Is Mrs. So-and-so busy?" "Oh dear no; she's *only writing*." As to "only thinking," Hogarth's "distrest poet" was rightly depicted as a man; the "she poet," as Dr. Johnson calls her, as having sometimes not even time to be distrest!

No matter if her life be a happy one. For just as happy lives have no history so the happiest lives of women can seldom show a great record of any art.

It is from the ranks of our lonely sisters that we must look for the meditative spirit that is the forerunner of poetry, as well as for such thoughtful study and "infinite capability for taking pains" as will bring their genius to completion.

True poetry is a great happiness, a great weapon, a great comforter to those that write as to those that read. It is an art which, like a rainbow, spans from earth to heaven. For, when highest commendation is needed, is not the word "poetry" mostly used? Do we not talk of the poetry of painting, of scenery and natural landscape, of the poetry of motion—nay, that which exists in a girl's dance as in a cloud of storm or surging sea—and, without irreverence, are not many conscious of the poetry of religion?

The largest views of life, as well as the most beautiful, are the poetic. From even the lowest slopes of Parnassus the harassing details of the valley grow small and unimportant.

Let our women poets take heart. The workers of the world need many forms of art. In these days of science, above the noise of machinery and the whirr of wheels, there is need of songful, tuneful voices.

Let us go sometimes to the green fields and gather inspiration. The word "Posy" is derived from "Poesy"; a posy ring is a ring inscribed with a poesy or rhyme. Come, then, and gather poesies.

Assuredly, we want more than "pansies for thoughts" and "rue for remembrance"; we want great poets, both men and women, great works and continuous efforts of concentration. But at the same time, and especially as regards the fact that the poetry of women has hitherto been mostly of small compass, and will possibly still so remain, we may take comfort in words of "rare Ben Jonson"—

"A poem is not alone any work, or composition of the poets in many or few verses; but even one alone verse sometimes makes a perfect poem."

DISCUSSION.

Mrs. Stetson (United States) commented on the relationship of women to poetry. It had been said that woman looked at life too much from her own point of view, that when she embodied her views in language her views were selected

from only one point—her own. Well, it must be her own point of view, but then it must be a view that took in the whole of life, and she must live her life fully—

“She who is to come.
A woman in the hour when she beholdeth
Her one beloved’s face;
A mother with a great heart that enfoldeth
The children of the race.
A body free and strong with that high beauty
That comes of perfect use; is built thereof
A mind where reason ruleth over duty
And justice reigns with love.
A self-poised, real soul, brave, wise, and tender,
Nothing blind nor dumb;
A human being of an unknown splendour,
Is she who is to come.”

Mrs. Meynell expressed the great pleasure it gave her to be present on this occasion; and **Miss Grace Stebbing** and **Mrs. Alexander Ross** also spoke.

Mrs. J. R. Green urged women to read poetry more, and deprecated the tendency to get away from the traditions based on the classics. They could not improve on the old ways and originality would not fail even though literature were founded on the great traditions of old.

Miss Davis spoke on behalf of women’s literary work in research, historical and otherwise. In this their claims on attention were very considerable, and it was, if not purely literary, a valuable adjunct to some branches of literature.

Miss Beatrice Harraden, who was greeted with applause, briefly proposed a vote of thanks to the foreign delegates, which was responded to by **Mme. Camelia Thyer**, who said she could not let the occasion go without putting in a word for her own country, Austria. Because the authors and authoresses of that country wrote in German it was generally assumed that they were Germans. They were a conglomeration of nations, and this was not advantageous for the production of great national writers, but some of the women writers most renowned in Germany were Austrian born, such as **Marie Ebner**, who was the first to dream and write of the New Woman, and **Bertha von Suttner**, who contributed so much to the cause of peace.

SCIENCE.

- (A) THE WORK OF WOMEN IN THE
PHYSICAL SCIENCES.
- (B) WORK FOR WOMEN IN THE BIO-
LOGICAL SCIENCES.

SMALL HALL, WESTMINSTER TOWN HALL,

THURSDAY, JUNE 29, MORNING.

Mrs. AYRTON in the chair.

Mrs. Ayrton, in opening the proceedings, said: One of the most important objects of the Professional Section of this Congress is the discussion of new occupations for women. In the branch of applied science with which I am most intimately connected—electrical engineering—there are, at present, no women working except in the lowest and most purely mechanical parts. At the same time, all the electrical industries are advancing by leaps and bounds, and it is a great pity that women should have no direct share in this advance, especially as there is one field in which they ought to prove themselves, as capable as men, namely, in the making of electrical instruments. For this work no great physical strength is needed, but only skill in the operative and inventiveness, and a thorough knowledge of electrical principles in the director. There would be no difficulty about the operatives, for one firm of electrical instrument makers already employ none but women. What is wanted, therefore, is a woman of brains and capital with enterprise enough to be willing to act as a pioneer in this direction, and with the patience to acquire the

necessary training. Such training would have to be obtained first at one of the technical colleges, and for practical details it would be advisable to work for at least a year in a good firm. There might be a difficulty about this, but it would not be impossible, and the reward would be great, not only in money, but in the interest of the work, and above all in the knowledge that a new and lucrative field of employment has been opened to women.

On the whole, however, science does not pay, except in the pleasure that it brings to its votaries. These taste, in its highest form, the excitement of the chase. For what sport is so keen, so rare, so elusive as the chase of an idea? And every law in science must start as an idea, and then be tracked home and proved to be true.

This particular form of pleasure has not hitherto appealed much to women, principally, I think, because of the immense preparation, especially in the way of book knowledge, that they imagine to be necessary for it. This is a mistake. The best way to fit yourself for scientific work is to observe, to experiment, to think for yourself, and when the mind is full of questions that it cannot answer, then, and only then should books be appealed to for replies. Knowledge gained in this way is real and living; it becomes an inseparable part of yourselves.

Although comparatively few women have as yet applied themselves to scientific research, yet that quickening of the mental atmosphere of women which has followed the enlargement of opportunity gained in the last thirty years has shown itself in science as in all else. And the proof, the delightful proof of it, is the fact that every one of the seven ladies who are about to read papers to us this morning is well known in the scientific world for the important original work that she has done in her own branch of science. Her name is known, her work is respected by the men who are her colleagues. No higher praise is needed.

The Work of Women in Astronomy.

Mlle. Klumpke (France), Doctor in Science at the Academie des Sciences, Paris.

THE history of women's work in Astronomy presents three great phases. The first phase goes back to the remotest

antiquity and ends with the dawn of the Renaissance; the second begins with the revival of astronomical science and ends with the early part of the nineteenth century; the third commences at the birth of the photographic and spectroscopical astronomy; it comprises the history of the women astronomers of our day. Each of these three phases has its distinctive features determined by the conditions under which women laboured, by the instrumental means employed, the work accomplished, the results obtained from a scientific, a practical, and a moral point of view.

During the first phase astronomy was in its infancy. Erroneous ideas as to the dimensions and distances of the heavenly bodies then prevailed; man in his pride and ignorance thought the earth to be the centre of the visible universe; with a few exceptions even they who by daily observations were brought into closer contact with the celestial bodies little understood the moral beauties of astronomy, which science was then chiefly used for self-advancement and political purposes. This was the era of superstition. The instruments of the first period, though of a rudimentary form, were beyond the people's reach; all observations were made with the naked eye. To the majority, and to women in particular, astronomy must have been purely contemplative, for then, as to-day, the glory of the heavens spoke to the soul of woman, which has never changed.

Contemplation soon gave place to observational and practical astronomy; woman's interest had been aroused and her energies awakened. Indeed Plutarch mentions Aganice, an Egyptian princess, who predicted future events by the relative positions of the celestial bodies. In Thessaly, Aglaonice announced lunar and solar eclipses; Asclepigenia in Athens, and later Hypatia in Alexandria, imparted their knowledge to young and old, and, in the silence of the night, Hypatia meditated on the motions of the heavens.

But, as was the astronomy of the early ages, so woman's longing for truth was misunderstood; it was met with derision and scorn; but bravely woman fought against tyranny, jealousy, and superstition; by martyrdom she sanctified the noble aspirations of her soul.

The second phase of woman's work in astronomy covers the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The walls of the prison wherein narrow and prejudiced intellects would have kept the most noble of sciences fall at the word that announces the discoveries of Copernicus

Galileo, Kepler, Newton. The earth is no longer thought to be the centre of the universe. It is but one of the secondary bodies circling round our sun, whence it derives its light, heat, vitality. Compared with the innumerable hosts of bodies disseminated throughout space the planet upon which we dwell is but a grain of dust in the universe.

In this period the telescope perfects the astronomer's sight; celestial mechanics are founded on the law of gravitation, henceforth the planets and comets no longer escape the astronomer's mind, though he may not perceive them with his bodily eye, yet he knows where they are in space; by observation, by the aid of analytical formulæ and tables of logarithms, he computes, for long intervals of time, with an accuracy that would have seemed incredible to the astronomers of old, ephemerides of the various members of our solar system. In this important labour of computation and observation the women astronomers of the second phase have rendered most useful services. One finds them at work in Germany, France, Italy, England; but few were the women whom their environment enabled to partake of the pleasures of astronomy and to produce intellectual labour. Therefore the second phase of woman's work in astronomy is the period of astronomical aristocracy.

Marie Cunitz, in Germany (1610-1664), heads the list of these gifted women.

In 1650 she published, under the title of "*Urania Propitia*," a compendium of the Rudolphine Tables which testifies to the genius of a woman upon whom her contemporaries bestowed the appellation of "*Second Hypatia*."

Helvetius's devoted wife and assistant, during more than twenty-seven years, observed with her husband at their private observatory in Dantzic and prepared with him the elements of the "*Prodromus Astronomicæ*" and of their Catalogue of 1883 stars.

Margarethe Kirche, aided by her scientific family, computed astronomical ephemerides and almanacs for Berlin, Breslau, Dresden, and Nuremberg; Margarethe Kirche's tribute to science equals her tribute to humanity; in her, science honours the gifted computer, and posterity, the mother of one of the first directors of the Berlin Observatory. Many years later, in Germany also, Frau Rümker shared the scientific labours of her husband, director of the Hamburg Observatory.

In France, during the period in question, many women won public recognition: Jeanne Dumée for her Commentary of

Copernicus's memorable work, "*De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*." The Marchioness du Châtelet (1706-1749) for translating Newton's "*Principia*." Mme. Lepaute, for determining with Clairault the orbit of Halley's comet, and for computing for more than ten years the astronomical tables of "*La Connaissance des Temps*." Mme. Dupierry, for computations of lunar and solar eclipses, and for lectures on astronomy delivered in Paris. Jeanne Amélie Latonde (1768-1782), for reducing the positions of the ten thousand stars which form her husband's Catalogue, and for computing astronomical tables for the determination of time at sea.

To this period also belongs Mme. Villarceau, the astronomer's wife, who computed orbits of binary stars after having verified the analytical expressions of the formulas employed.

In Italy, the women astronomers are represented by Teresa and Madeleine Manfredi, the sisters of the director of the Observatory at Bologna, to whom science is indebted for ephemerides of the planets. Towards the close of this second phase, Signora Scarpellini (1807-1873), the niece of the founder of the Capitoline Observatory, represents woman both in astronomy and meteorology. Signora Scarpellini not only discovered a comet and observed the Leonids' shower of 1866, but she also published a monthly journal and established a meteorological station in Italy.

In England a most beautiful instance of fraternal love joined to love of science is given to the astronomical world by Caroline Herschel, the little, quiet, home-bred Hanoverian girl of whom nothing had been expected but to be up early and to do the work of the house and to devote her leisure hours to knitting and sewing. With unvarying diligence and humility, says Mrs. John Herschel, Caroline followed the path that her brother had marked out for her, first in blessed hourly companionship when she was as necessary in his home as in his library or among his instruments, and latterly when, with saddened heart but unflagging determination, she continued to work for him but saw his domestic happiness pass into another's keeping.

Besides the work done in collaboration with her brother William, astronomy is indebted to Caroline Herschel for the discovery of eight comets and for many of the nebulae contained in Sir William's Catalogue.

In 1797 she presented to the Royal Society a catalogue of 560 stars, and, after the death of her brother, Caroline, then 72 years of age, undertook and completed the laborious

reduction of the places of 2,500 nebulae to the 1st of January, 1800, "presenting in one view," says T. South, "the entire results of Sir William's observations on these bodies, thus bringing to a close half a century spent in astronomical labour."

Caroline Herschel forms the connecting link between the second and third phases of woman's work in astronomy. Like the women of the second phase, she is related to an illustrious astronomer; through privation of fortune she belongs to so many of the toilers of the third phase who have found in astronomy a modest means of livelihood. The appointment of a young woman as assistant astronomer, with a regular salary for her service, had not been heard of until then. In this second period the results obtained by women astronomers are truly scientific. They must have been practical also from a financial point of view, as the publication of almanacs was a source of revenue; lastly, the above-mentioned contributions had a moral and beneficent influence upon the soul, as testifies the "*Urania Propitia*," throughout which book ring the praises of the Most High.

In the third phase of woman's work in astronomy a new element—equality—appears. Social evolution, like agitated waves, has touched the confines of many lands; its ebb bearing away vicious abuses, its flood rolling in crested with precious hopes.

Instruction has become obligatory; intellectual food is given to hungry man and woman; and while man's heart draws closer to nature, nature draws closer to man, revealing to him the great unity of principle that exists in all sciences and links them intimately together. In this period astronomy no longer limits her researches to the determination of the positions of the stars and planets on the blue firmament. Optics, physics, mathematics, chemistry, photography have transformed her in her very foundation, opening to her wider fields and lavishing upon her the benefits of their discoveries. Instruments of all descriptions stand at the command of astronomy; the photographic eye and the human eye share the work of fathoming the heavens.

Numerous branches appear in astronomy: photographic, spectroscopical, theoretical, numerical, historical, literary, observational, and educational astronomy. So rich is the harvest's yield, and so short human life, that astronomical science now becomes universal: she knows no boundaries, no rank, no sex, no age.

In these various branches the women of the nineteenth century have their representatives. In photographic astronomy women in the national observatories of Paris, the Cape of Good Hope, Helsingfors, Toulouse, Potsdam, Greenwich, Oxford, contribute, or have contributed to the International Photographic Chart of the Heavens—a legacy of our century to future generations. Day after day, these women bend over their microscopes, sweep the photographed skies determining the relative positions and apparent brilliancy of all the stars from the first to the eleventh magnitude. At the Paris Observatory, in 1892, the Bureau of Measurements was placed under my direction by the late Admiral Mouchez, the promoter of the photographic survey of the heavens. At the Greenwich Observatory Mrs. Russell Maunder has been in charge of the micrometric measurements of the zones allotted to that observatory. The pioneer in a work of similar nature was, in 1874, Ida Martin, of Columbia College Observatory.

In spectroscopical astronomy woman is represented at the fireside by Lady Huggins, the collaborator of a world-renowned astronomer.

At the Harvard College Observatory a staff of women, directed by Mrs. Mary Fleming, pass in review millions of stars photographed as bands of light. Here the stars are classified according to their probable evolution. Careful examination of the stellar spectra has led the Harvard College staff of women workers to the discovery of many variable stars and binary stars too close together to be revealed by the telescope.

In theoretical astronomy woman was represented a decade ago by Sophie Kowalewskaya, the talented professor at the University of Stockholm, laureate of the Bodin prize, and whose sad and premature death cut short a brilliant career.

In England she was represented by Mary Somerville, whose beautiful book on the "Mechanism of the Heavens" has been spoken of in the highest terms by Biot and Humboldt.

In numerical astronomy, woman by her talent and industry has forced the doors of the office of the "American Almanac."

In historical and literary astronomy woman has surpassed herself in the person of Miss Agnes Clerke, the author of many valuable contributions crowned, in 1893, by the Acton prize.

At a few of the national observatories woman has observed planets, comets, and shooting stars; she has been in charge

of the time service and has made transit observations. In the American Women's Colleges at Vassar, at Smith, at Swarthmore, women professors, following the footprints of Maria Mitchell, their illustrious predecessor, guide their pupils in practical and theoretical astronomy.

At her private observatory woman has had a worthy representative in the late Miss Elizabeth Brown, director of the Solar Section of the British Astronomical Association. The founding of this society, where women as well as men are admitted to the systematic study of the heavens, is in a large measure due to Elizabeth Brown.

In this, and in similar associations in France and in America, women fill, and have filled, the functions of observers, of members of the council, of secretaries, of vice-presidents, and benefactresses; here, work is done gratuitously, positions are open to all, the discipleship of astronomy being the only title of nobility.

Unable for want of time to go deeper into my subject, I beg to refer my audience to the following list of services rendered by the women astronomers of our day. I wish to add here, that among the toilers of the various branches mentioned above are found the qualities requisite for producing lasting results—concentration and enthusiasm, powerful levers that move worlds! Ours is a work of the night and the day: incessantly we sow, we toil, we reap; gratefully we gather in the full sheaves of the harvest due to the valiant men and women of the past who have opened to us a new liberal profession; lovingly we confide to the soil of intellectual fraternity our little grain of labour, trusting it will yield a hundredfold return to science, to humanity, and especially to womanhood of the centuries to come. Perseveringly we labour, taking little heed to the cares of the morrow, knowing that astronomy, like spiritual understanding, bears within her her own blessings. "She is more precious than rubies and fine gold; length of days is in her right hand, and in her left riches and honour."

All sciences have one and the same end in view—the research of the true, the good, the beautiful! During the activity of the day, in the silence of the night, the innumerable hosts of the celestial bodies, centres of light, heat, vitality, in accents majestic and sublime, bid us radiate in unison with them. The rays thus emitted in all directions, rays of love and fraternity, reflect in the heart gladness, contentment, and happiness.

These are the hidden treasures of astronomy which must be put into the possession of every living being ere harmony and concord can dwell on earth !

By thought, by word, by deed, strengthen the body of astronomical workers. By means of telescopes erected in your cities and villages, for instructing the people, by means of celestial photographs hung in your public buildings, of free access to all, by means of popular lectures on astronomy and astronomical books generously distributed among the poor and ignorant, let the wonders of the heavens be revealed to all !

Your labour will have then been a labour of love.

Women Geologists.

Miss C. Raisin (Great Britain), Lecturer on Geology at Bedford College, London.

I HAVE been asked to give some account of the progress made by women in one of the sciences to which I have given my life—that of Geology.

The subject is somewhat difficult to discuss under the section of Professions, if the term is used as meaning work undertaken for payment. But it would be anomalous if this subject were omitted in any account of women's progress in Science, for it is a subject in which the advance and increase of women's work in recent years has been most marked. Also this work has received (as in other sciences) generous recognition from the most eminent authorities. The Geological Society of London have received papers from women, have given favourable reception, and have printed them fully in their journal. From the time—more than twelve years ago—when papers were first printed, an increasing number of papers and workers have received this distinction. No account would be complete in geology, with reference to women's work, if we did not refer to the honoured name of Sir Charles Lyell. He left a bequest to the Geological Society to give an annual award of a medal and of funds, and in so doing he wrote, a quarter of a century ago, that the award was to be made to *a member of any nationality and of either sex*. This generous forethought received generous recognition from the Geological

Society when, six years ago, they awarded part of the fund to a woman.

Further, this science is especially international, since its subject matter is the history of the earth, and can only be studied by expeditions to other countries and to foreign museums. But, further, the term "profession" must be used in more extended sense, and in this sense our subject will be fully included.

But is there any remunerative work to which geology can lead? I fear I can only point to most subsidiary and unimportant matters, such as illustrating memoirs or papers for which technical knowledge would be of use, or similarly the naming of collections for colleges or the making of them.

If a definite science work is needed in some piece of investigation, then it is, I am glad to say, most usual that the subsidiary help is gladly and freely given, and the helper feels it an honour to be allowed to take a humble share in some work which is searching for new knowledge. In the generous hierarchy of Science it is often rather a competition on the part of the helper not to be acknowledged, and on the part of the helped to acknowledge.

Of strictly professional undertakings for which geology is needed—prospecting for minerals, advising on water supply, opinions in mining, &c.—these are distinctly professions which are naturally suited as work for men. But if the subject is considered in a wider sense, then I claim that this science is pre-eminently fitted as work and occupation for women. The study of geology—the work in some investigation in it, if they have the gift and the power—will provide them with work of absorbing interest; will give them an additional delight in beautiful scenery and in the sights of travel; will lead them to outdoor walks and expeditions; will yield help when the serious troubles or the dulness of life might otherwise overwhelm and tempt; will indeed often be a help and safeguard for those whose tastes lie this way.

But there are two necessities if the work is to be a benefit to the worker, and possibly to others. The first, which is self-evident—some inclination towards the work, some liking and natural taste; the other, and most important, a qualification on which I would most strongly insist. I have shown that the work will not lead generally to money rewards; but there is a more subtle temptation to a less material reward, which equally would mar any work done with its aim. The really best work in Science is not done even with the hope of honour

and praise, grateful as they are. There is, to my mind, a danger at the present day in the examination rewards offered for what is called original work in Science. When I hear, as I do sometimes, among graduated students of colleges who are trying some investigation, that they are working for a higher degree, then I fear that, although the degree may be obtained, the best results of Science will not. We may enjoy any study up to a certain level; but if we hope to rise to the level of a maker and finder of new knowledge, we must put aside extraneous hopes and ambitions; must love the work for its own sake; must serve diligently, patiently; must be willing to sacrifice ignoble or less lofty pleasures. For this, as for all good which is worth having, one must give and hazard all he hath.

The Work of Women in Chemistry.

Miss Dorothy Marshall, B.Sc. Lond. (Great Britain), Associate of Bedford College, London; formerly Tufnell Scholar of University College, London; Resident Lecturer in Natural Sciences, Girton College, Cambridge.

SUCH work as is done by women in the field of chemical research is usually undertaken in the last year of their College course, or immediately after taking the examination that completed that course. The enthusiasm awakened by the more advanced portions of their studies, the growing insight into the problems and possibilities of the science, the stimulus of closer contact with the teacher and fuller appreciation of his work; these influences blend to form the most favourable atmosphere for beginning original work.

In circumstances of this kind work has been undertaken by women-students in several of the different departments of chemistry, and some of this work has been sufficiently completed to admit of publication.

It will be well to inquire what it is that prevents more women from taking up this kind of work, why so few begin, and why those who have succeeded in making a fair start leave off so soon.

Women who come up to college to take a science course have generally had no previous scientific training. They stay at college from three to four years, and work at three or some-

times four subjects simultaneously. They have all the work in each subject to get through, and it takes them the whole of their time at college to do it. I do not pretend to know how it may be for other branches of science, but for my own subject I am convinced that it is not of the slightest use to attempt original work without first securing a wide and accurate knowledge of the facts.

To set a student down to try original work without knowing a good deal of what has been done already is like setting a workman to do a delicate piece of work without having learnt the use of his tools.

The preliminary stages take longer in some subjects than in others; in chemistry most of the easy things have been done, and we have got to the explanation stage. I am given to understand that in other subjects the need for previous training is not so great, and original work may be profitably undertaken at an earlier stage. Possibly this may be one reason why students are more often attracted to the biological than to the chemical side.

It is only when the student is about to take her examination and leave college that she is in a position to think of attempting any original work, of however modest a kind. But very few students are able to stay on at college and try. The majority have taken a college course in order to qualify them to enter in their turn the teaching profession, or to pass on to the study of medicine; students of chemistry, in my experience, are either embryo teachers or embryo doctors. They take it up as a means to an end, not as an end in itself. I have known extraordinarily few women who have studied science at college without some such definite object in view. The students who seek there a general education and training, without a special ulterior object, do not seek it in the laboratory. And yet such students, having time to spare and money to spare, would—other things being equal—be the very ones most favoured by circumstances in taking up original work.

The fact remains that science students are nearly all going to be teachers or doctors; and with most such it is essential that they should get to work on their own account as soon as possible. They cannot afford to waste time in research.

One other difficulty I might allude to here. In the case of the resident colleges, where the accommodation is limited and the applications for admission are numerous, it is not found possible to allow students to continue in residence and try their hand at original work, unless there is clear evidence that the

work is likely to be successful ; and it is impossible to foretell success in such work, unless it be for an exceptionally brilliant student. The first attempts are nearly always failures.

The result is that the student leaves college and takes a teaching post, and that is generally the end, so far as research is concerned. The work of an assistant-mistress in a school is usually arranged so as to fill her whole time, and the conditions of work are all unfavourable to research. Her teaching work is heavy, it fills her time and uses up her strength, and too often is coupled with an excessive amount of home work in the shape of corrections. Granted too that she can make a little spare time, she occupies an extremely isolated position ; and only very great minds can work alone.

The ordinary individual has to be stirred up to do his best by mental friction and intercourse with those interested in the same or similar subjects. Put him down in a desert, and he can accomplish but little.

In more responsible posts than those of schools the same state of things prevails. The financial position of the larger teaching institutions is such that it is not found possible to increase the number of the staff sufficiently to allow the individuals the opportunity of devoting a fair proportion of their time to research in their own particular line. These institutions are unable to pay practical attention to the fact that it is essential that a really efficient teacher of any branch of science should himself or herself be actively engaged in adding to the knowledge of that branch of science. It is not a luxury ; it is a necessity.

But an appointment entailing an amount of work that seems reasonable enough in itself, regarded as all the work that has to be done, may deprive the individual of all opportunity of doing anything beyond ; while yet such extra work, properly regarded, is an essential part of the work of a really first-rate teacher of any subject.

I am not claiming that the difficulties that lie between women and research are greater than those that lie between men and research. What I do want to bring out is the fact that women who study science and become qualified to undertake original work are almost invariably women who teach, and that, as things are at present, research and teaching cannot—as they should—go hand in hand.

The Work of Women in General Physics.

Mrs. Margaret Seward McKillop (Great Britain), Lecturer in Science at Royal Holloway College.

THE order which seems to have commended itself to the Professional Sub-Committee in remarks on Women's Work has been—

1. A historical survey of the work already done, and the women by whom it has been done.
2. The special aptitude of women for the subject.
3. The openings possible to women.
4. The special training required to fit them for such openings.

The general statistical historical survey is really the task that is most difficult, and I frankly admit it impossible within my limits. To attempt now to summarise and gather up the work in physical and chemical research which has been published by women of late years in periodicals in all languages, would indeed be a labour of Hercules. But I must commemorate this fact; I must bring it forward as a matter of congratulation, as an instance of the proper intellectual attitude, that in the world of scientific research personages are becoming so non-sexual that to find out what work is done by women is nearly as difficult as to find out what work is done by people with red hair!

The other more interesting method of procedure would be to remind you of the labours of certain pre-eminently great women, whose names we mention with pride. This method was taken by my predecessor in Chicago five years ago, and I will refer you to her interesting essay rather than go over the same ground. There is one observation perhaps worth making. We must continually bear in mind that these pioneers were women surpassing their fellows in character, in indomitable energy and perseverance, more markedly than they did in intellect. For in those days the struggle of women for intellectual existence was terribly severe, and the rule of "survival of the fittest" worked rigidly to sift out from all those with a genuine turn for learning just the few who had, as well, the power to surmount untold obstacles. This gave us a few extraordinary, magnificent women; but we have lost the work and influence of all the smaller ones; we have lost

also incalculably because Caroline Herschel and Mary Somerville could go neither to Cambridge nor to Oxford. Mrs. Somerville, comparatively well educated, began to read mathematics when she was thirty-three; Miss Herschel says of herself, "I have been throughout annoyed and hindered in my endeavours in perfecting myself in any branch of knowledge by which I could hope to gain a suitable livelihood." Want of opportunity forms the tragic side to her noble life. Nowadays, fortunately, we are beginning to see a chance of giving the smaller minds full opportunities, and may look forward to getting the best from everybody.

To speak much on the aptitude of women for physical science would be to weary you with commonplace. I need only refer briefly to their proved accuracy, consciousness, thoroughness, and delicacy in manipulation. Nevertheless, I consider the time by no means ripe for attributing special aptitudes to women in science; they must be on their trial, side by side with men in the same work, for many years yet, before we can really differentiate qualities of the sexes in performing the work.

Teaching is, of course, the most obvious opening for women trained in science; and this career increases in importance as science takes a more important place in the curricula of girls' schools. The supply of trained women is increasing in proportion; but we should like to see more women in the highest positions in teaching. In American and British colleges for women, it still seems to be the rule for the Physics lecturer to be a man. I look to the teacher to produce research work, as well as to the woman of ample leisure; this means, it is true, a good allowance of spare time from her teaching; and that can come only with a greater allowance to all her colleagues, for she must not claim an exceptional position. Still, even at present such work is done, and very creditably done.

Everywhere now women are cordially invited to lecture and teach in domestic economy and hygiene. We shall all agree that this educational work ought to be taken up by women of high scientific training and general equipment to make it really valuable. Further, in domestic economy generally, in the study of soaps, alkalies, cleansers, polishes, as well as in the more alluring study of cooking materials, the widest possible field for research lies open to women, and is one they ought not to hesitate to make peculiarly their own.

Apropos of a high standard of equipment, I should like to

touch here on Dispensing as an occupation. It may be considered beneath the dignity of this session; but it may be urged, on the other hand, that if women take it up, they should bring it to a higher level than before, and give it a guarantee of ample qualification. There is a useful pamphlet on the subject written lately by Miss Bradbury (Ryde Dispensary), but I regret to see that she inclines to recommend a low examination certificate as sufficient, in the scientific subjects necessary.

There was often difficulty in finding suitable openings for men trained in Physical Science, so we cannot expect it to be easy for women. Men may find place in the chemical industries, chiefly as analysts or assayers; they may become engineers, civil, mechanical, or electrical, or mining experts. At present possibilities begin to show themselves of placing women as analysts and assayers; I hope instances may be brought before us to-day; they are well suited to this work. I have heard of an influential silk manufacturer inquiring at one of our women's colleges whether his daughter could be trained in the scientific foundations of dyeing—an excellent suggestion, although perhaps hardly to be carried out exactly as he imagined it. I have also been told that the head of some chemical works talking lately to his daughter's head mistress, expressed regret that he had no sons to train up in his business. She replied, "Let your daughter take her B.Sc. degree, and then take her into the business." I am glad to say this idea is being carried out.

Speaking generally, there seems no doubt women will find themselves handicapped in aiming at the very best positions in these industries by the fact that such do not mean merely ability and experience on the scientific side; they demand power over workmen, and experience in the workshop; and our general social conditions can hardly be said to lend themselves to this at present. The same will of course apply to the engineering industries, and to the mining industries still more, as women are prohibited by statute from working in mines.

A minor disadvantage which seems likely to disappear more quickly, is that woman cannot take a German degree in science, for this particular training is certainly thought more of than any other, in many branches of practical science. Germany is the last country in Europe to extend University education to women; but it seems likely that training in natural science will be one of the first things secured.

There seems no reason why women should not be suitable for the work done in H.M. Patent Office, or for that undertaken by Patent agents.

If we are to enlist in the service of science research in particular, women of the upper classes, with both money and leisure, I am afraid we must first entirely revolutionise their conventional form of education. The private governess system not only gives no scope for learning scientific method, it produces women appallingly ignorant not only of mathematics, but of ordinary arithmetic! Without teachers with enthusiasm for the subject, without skilful education in the science of numbers, without any access to laboratories, can this large class of women, however richly endowed, be expected to bring contributions to women's work in science? I say earnestly, we want no more Caroline Herschels. You will not accuse me of undervaluing the patience, the intelligence, the vigour or the power of this great woman; but you will realise with me that what we have to do is to prevent the waste, the frittering away of such marvellous gifts, if even a tithe of such be bestowed on any woman now, and to help her to develop and use them fully. Truly in this sense, self-development is the most arduous form of unselfishness, the most rigorous form of self-denial.

DISCUSSION.

Mrs. Walter Maunder: Taking astronomy as a typical physical science, I would point out that as a field for earning a livelihood for women it is very limited. Practically the only professional opening is in the measurement and reduction of stellar photographs. Women are now employed for this, to a considerable extent, at the different observatories of the world, and will probably be still more employed in the future as this class of work increases. They are so employed because the work requires quickness, delicacy of eye and hand, and patient industry in drudgery; but principally because they can be got at a cheaper rate of pay than men with similar qualifications. It is, however, good, useful, and scientific work, and certainly is of very great value in the training of an astronomer. It is, however, to another branch of astronomy that I would urge the attention of women. This is the practical side of observing, and I would appeal to women who have an income sufficient not only to render them independent of astronomy as a means of livelihood, but also to procure and to keep in working order their instruments. To the science the gain of such workers would

be immense. To women the pecuniary benefit would not be apparent, at least directly. But indirectly it would be great, since good and original work done in one science will benefit the position of women in all sciences, and still more will raise the status and therefore the pay of women's work in all professions and labours. Further, the qualities which go to make a good observer, and which are, moreover, engendered by serious, personal work in observing, are just those qualities which seem to be present in the most useful and trustworthy men—or women—in a public capacity, and also to a great extent in a private capacity. For this cause I think it would be a great point gained in the advancement of women if observatories were attached to the women's colleges and large schools, and if serious practical work was done in them.

A third point (out of many left untouched) I would take up from its great importance, though from its nature it cannot have many workers. This is the interpretation of the results of a science. The qualities necessary are not peculiar to either sex, but in astronomy the chief worker—one holding almost a unique position—is a woman, Miss Agnes Clerke. To her both astronomy and astronomers owe a great debt, a debt the more obvious since, so far as I know, no worker has arisen of late years in any of the other sciences to fulfil a similar task.

Work for Women in the Biological Sciences.

Miss Florence Buchanan, B.Sc. London (Great Britain).

It is natural enough that any one before entering on a profession should wish to know what they are to look forward to when they have qualified themselves for that profession. It is important that they should know it; that they should be warned at the outset of difficulties peculiar to that profession (and such there are sure to be), at the same time they are encouraged to go in for it either for its own sake or for the sake of the good they can do by it.

All properly trained in the biological sciences and their methods will find at least four courses open to them, each with their difficulties, each with their special attractions. I will name them in what seems to me to be the order of their attractiveness.

1. Private research work.
2. Research work under direction of some public body or of some private individual.
3. Teaching.
4. Museum work.

In taking up a biological science at all as a profession it has to be borne in mind that, except for those which include medicine, they are of less commercial value than the physical sciences. In choosing which course to follow all wishing to devote themselves to one of the biological sciences which has no immediate bearing on practical life are more or less hampered if they have a livelihood to earn, in this country at least, where pure science is little aided by the State, and looked upon askance, especially for women, by the general public. A woman is so far freer to choose her course than a man, in that, even if she have a livelihood to earn, she has not, as a rule, others whose subsistence and education are dependent on her as most men have. She may put the work itself foremost, not the thought of making herself a name and obtaining that recognition which is essential for any one who is obliged to make money out of the work.

On the other hand, if she is obliged to make a living out of her science, she has less stimulus for doing so than one who has others to work and provide for, and it is perhaps more difficult for a woman who has to look at the matter from that point of view, than for a man, to devote herself to the higher business of science—research work of her own—since fellowships and scholarships for research by which men support themselves are few and far between for women. Supposing, however, she is fortunate enough not to have to take anything else into account save the promotion of that branch of science she has taken up as a profession (and it is such people who are especially needed for scientific work), let us consider the value of the different kinds of work she can do in it.

It does not necessarily follow that that work which is most attractive is most valuable, for instance, one may do more good to science by helping others to make use of the material they have collected or by co-operating with others for one common aim, than by making out new facts for oneself. But research work, whether of one's own or for others, seems to me to be of far higher value than teaching work in the biological sciences, since for the study of the methods of science, for the cultivation of a scientific frame of mind, the physical sciences are better adapted. Teaching has, however,

a special value of its own, not only because without it there would be a lack of fresh recruits for research work, but also because teaching is one of the best ways of learning and of ensuring a work from getting into grooves. For this reason it seems to me that any one doing research work, especially when not in collaboration with others, should also be a teacher for their own sake, and that for the sake of those they teach every one who teaches biological science should also be doing research work.

With regard to museum work, its value lies in the good that it does, not only for the present but for the future. Good preparations and a well-arranged museum serve as lessons, not for one generation only but for all time. It has, however, none of the other advantages for oneself, and therefore for science, that direct teaching has.

It will be seen, therefore, that even though she have no other end in view than the advancement of science, the ways in which she can best herself advance science are ways in which, if opportunity offers, she can also earn a livelihood. The important thing to note, however, is that no good scientific work can be done if that has to be put as the first thing. The good of science alone must be the foremost thought of any scientific worker.

Let us now see what sort of posts are open to women in the biological sciences, by which she can fulfil what the science she is to devote herself to demands of her. I will talk only of such posts as are available in this country, hoping that there will be others present at this meeting who will be able to give us information as to what happens in other countries.

The biological sciences comprise botany, zoology, geology, physiology, and pathology. Not one of these can be studied without the student discovering how much still remains to be done in them, how many unsolved problems there are that any one with a will to do so may help to solve, whether directly or indirectly. If he cannot make the torches for the Temple of Truth he may at least prepare the material for others to make them of. There is, therefore, no difficulty in finding research work to do if one is capable of doing it. Teaching work can most readily be found in botany, geology, and physiology, since these are subjects more suitable to be taught in schools than the other two. The kind of teaching required in schools, however, is hardly of the nature to promote research work. Its value consists in training the observing powers of children and rousing their interest in subjects which they

may be inclined to pursue further. Posts which require teaching of a higher order, such teaching as should, if possible, always accompany and be accompanied by research work, are not very numerous for women, but are gradually becoming more so. In each of the first four of the five sciences I have mentioned some half a dozen to a dozen teaching posts could be found in the United Kingdom, probably as large a proportion to the number of women taking up that science as the posts for men are to the men who work for them. The difficulty is to make people who are in authority at women's colleges understand the value of giving their lecturers and teachers facilities for doing original work besides their teaching. There is always a tendency to expect them to give their whole time and energy in imparting what they already know to others, forgetting that if these others who are taught in their turn afterwards only do the same, generations of teachers may be produced, but nothing effected. There is, moreover, often too much teaching done in colleges; students should not, I think, have everything given to them boiled down and digested by a teacher, but they should be taught in such a way as to make them think for themselves, and discriminate what is of primary, what of secondary, importance in what they learn. The object of teaching is not to cram facts into the heads of those who are taught, but to inspire them, to teach them to teach themselves. This can only be done, it seems to me, by the teacher taking up, him or herself, some special piece of research work, and letting the students see for themselves the fascination of making out something new, the difficulties that arise in doing it, the methods of overcoming them or attempting to do so.

I wish very strongly to put before this Congress the desirability of combining teaching with research work, and to suggest it to those who have the giving of posts that they may be ready to welcome the teacher who stipulates for time for research work.

But if such a post combining teaching and research is not obtainable, better than teaching alone, for any one not able without assistance to research alone, is doing research work for some one else, and such posts are becoming more and more open to women in all the five branches of biological science. One gets all the enjoyment of making out new facts. One has the advantage, if privileged to work for some distinguished person or persons, of seeing their mode of work, of benefiting by all the knowledge they have accumulated, and

by their example. A good many well-known professors, finding their lives too busy with other things to devote themselves as much as they would like to research work, are willing to employ people to do that part of the work which takes most time, and for this purpose prefer some one who is able to give his whole time to the work and who is indifferent to everything save the success of the work. They are more likely to find such people amongst women, and many of them employ women, giving them the advantage of their experience as well as giving them the means of earning a livelihood in a way that they cannot but enjoy if they have the scientific spirit at all. The only difficulty in such case is to find the right person, *i.e.*, some person with whom one is in sympathy to work under. There is less of this difficulty in working for some public body or institution, and it seems to me now that a new field has been opened for women as well as men if they chose to avail themselves of it by properly qualifying themselves in one branch of pathology, *viz.*, bacteriology. This being a science which had done great service to humanity, and promises to do still greater, is one which requires many workers. There is nothing in the work that a woman could not do as well as a man. The Jenner Institute is an example of an institution only too ready to employ any one who can prove himself qualified to do the work. Any one wishing to do research work, and willing to do it under direction, would probably find bacteriology the most remunerative biological subject to do it in, after that physiology, and after that the three other biological sciences.

Posts as museum curators have not often so far been held by women. There is, however, nothing to prevent their being in the future. The British Museum, on account of its pension scheme, apparently sets a bad example in that respect.

There is, however, work enough for women to do in the biological sciences, and work will be found for them when they show themselves capable of doing it. With regard to what they have already done for the advancement of science I am going to say nothing here for the reason that I regard science as a subject in which we cannot distinguish women's work from man's work as such, and no woman who has taken up science as a profession would, I take it, care to have the fact of her being a woman drawn attention to in considering her work. She would wish it to be judged by the same standards as man's work, subjected to the same crucial tests. She would value more highly the severest criticism from some one com-

petent to criticise than the praises which certain newspapers and the general public are only too ready to bestow on any work done by a woman because, forsooth, they are so surprised that a woman should have done it.

Women and Bacteriology.

Mrs. Percy Frankland (Great Britain).

AMONGST the various branches of science with the remarkable achievements of which the closing years of the century must ever be identified, Bacteriology has already obtained a foremost place.

The latest product, the Benjamin, so to speak, of this brilliant era, it has grown by leaps and bounds, until it is almost as difficult to prescribe its area of activity in the world of science, as it is in the world of politics to define illusory spheres of influence.

Bacteriology is intimately, and will be found to be yet more intimately associated with our life in many of its most diverse and varied aspects.

In the industrial world, for example, its pre-eminent claims to consideration are becoming daily more universally recognised. Thus the boots we wear, the beer and wine we drink, the tobacco we smoke or do not smoke, as the case may be, are all primarily dependent for their excellence upon the character of the bacteria mixed up in their production, and only a few months ago V. H. Velry, of Oxford, and his wife published an elaborate monograph pointing out the damage done to spirit-distillers by a particular micro-organism which obtains access to rum and produces deleterious changes in the liquid, causing annually a loss of many thousands of pounds to manufacturers.

But brewers and tanners, wine-growers and tobaccoists are not by any means the only representatives of industry who have to reckon with bacteria in the conduct of their business, for in the various branches of agriculture we are brought face to face with myriads of these minute but all-powerful forms of living matter. Whilst in the absence of bacteria the farmer could not cultivate his land, in the manufacture of dairy-produce, researches from all parts of the world have shown the grave responsibility which attaches to bacteria under circumstances where they are endowed with such arbitrary powers for good and evil, that their scientific control is now recognised

to be a matter of the highest importance, both from a hygienic and commercial point of view.*

But in spite of scientific investigations, and Royal Commissions of inquiry, we are still practically at the mercy of microbes in this subject, and it is to be regretted that women have not interested themselves more in this branch of bacteriology, for a knowledge of some of the facts which have been discovered would infallibly arouse them to the necessity of agitating for the establishment of an official and systematic control of the dairy-industry in this country.

To cite yet another example of the intimate connection which exists between bacteria and our daily life, preventive medicine owes its origin to the systematic study of micro-organisms, whilst our modern theories of hygiene are based on our knowledge of their significance.

In this latter connection bacteriology also should claim the attention of those women who are qualifying for their comparatively new rôle of sanitary inspectors, and a knowledge of the general principles of bacteriology should be required of them, for such knowledge must greatly contribute towards an intelligent grasp of the duties which they have to perform. The horizon of bacteriological research is in fact becoming daily extended, and hardly a department of life remains where micro-organisms do not make themselves felt in one way or another, in many cases thrusting themselves upon us when and where we least want them, whilst on the other hand we have as frequently to perseveringly seek them out and cajole them as best we can to work for us.

Like human beings, bacteria are not all bad or all good, and moreover resemble the best of us in being capable of conversion, and oftentimes by judicious management the individual propensity for evil may be transformed into a beneficent power working for good.

Of this we have an instance in some so-called bacterial-vaccines, where the same microbe which may attack an animal with destructive intent can, by suitable means, be so modified

* In this connection I would mention that the milk in frequently as many as 55 per cent. of the cows examined, has been found infected with the consumption-bacillus, and that the most recent researches on this important subject have shown that not only milk from cows which are locally affected or are in an advanced stage of the disease contain the tubercle bacillus, but that those animals in which the disease is only at its commencement, and in which its presence can only be detected by Koch's tuberculin test, may also yield tuberculous milk.

as to protect that animal from the inroads of its still viciously inclined brethren.

Perhaps the most novel rôle for bacteria is that of executioners. Bacterial-executioners are now coming more and more into favour, since the idea was first introduced by Pasteur in connection with special destruction of rabbits in Australia by infecting them with the artificial microbes known to be very fatal to them.

From South Africa we hear of an attempt to destroy locusts in a similar manner; whilst in America efforts have been recently made to keep down another insect-pest by employing suitable micro-organisms.

This very cursory glance at a few of the applications of bacteriology will serve to convey some idea of its many-sided character, and of the wide field for original investigations which it has opened up in so many different directions.

Such a vista of work to be performed has attracted labourers from all parts of the world, but there is little chance of this Eldorado of research being exhausted, and ample opportunity remains for women to work whether in the medical, hygienic, or industrial applications of bacteriology, only, as in all scientific work, the greater the record of progress the more intricate do the problems become which offer themselves for solution, and the greater the patience and perseverance which have to be exercised in the attempt to unravel them. The ability of women to carry on scientific work is no longer disputed, and although but few of the societies associated with the various branches of science have so far in this country admitted them as members or fellows, yet original researches carried out by women are in increasing numbers to be found embodied in their respective journals. New bacteriological investigations may in some respects be regarded as specially suitable occupation for those of our sex who are attracted by scientific subjects. For example, the apparatus required is, on the whole, neither very costly nor cumbersome, and much of the work could be carried on, as I know by my own experience, without great inconvenience in one's own home, whilst scrupulous conscientiousness, the practice of which is one of the first essentials in handling bacteria, is a quality which perhaps women may not unjustifiably be said to possess in a high degree.

This scrupulous conscientiousness comes into play, it may be urged, in all scientific work, but the penalty of its absence in bacteriological investigations is perhaps greater.

The smallest details of manipulation are of cardinal importance, thus such seemingly insignificant trifles as inadequately singed cotton-wool, or a wrongly sloped glass vessel may ruin weeks of subsequent toil, whilst omitting to heat a needle sufficiently may expose one to a serious risk of infection from a malignant micro-organism.

Hence the necessity of serving an apprenticeship in the smallest beginnings of work. I well remember, when engaged one day upon washing some test-tubes, an eminent professor in a different branch of science coming into the laboratory, and, seeing how I was occupied, exclaiming with some contempt, "Do you call that scientific work?" But whether engaged upon such humble occupation as cleaning apparatus, or, on the other hand, carrying out the most refined microscopic technique, the same condition of mind must be sedulously cultivated, *i.e.*, that of continual anticipation of misfortune. It is only, moreover, when this pessimistic attitude towards one's surroundings sits quite easily upon one, that the necessary qualification for bacteriological research can be said to be acquired!

Women are often held to be distinguished for their devotion to the minutiae of life, or to put it in a more complimentary form, they possess in a high degree the faculty for taking pains; if this is the case, then they are by nature specially qualified to carry out bacteriological work. That they can do so successfully is shown by what they have already accomplished.

To mention but a few such, the Massachusetts State Board of Health, in its ponderous official blue-books, contains the names of women who have assisted by their original investigations in compiling these recondite reports. From the Pasteur Institute in Paris we have the masterly work of Madame Metschnikoff, who, following in her husband's footsteps, has made important contributions to the theory of phagocytosis, with which her husband's name is so inseparably associated, whilst emanating from the same distinguished laboratory we have the work of Mlle. Tsilinski, whose researches on the vaccine of anthrax are to be found in the "*Annales de l'Institut Pasteur*," and scattered through some of the principal bacteriological journals we from time to time come upon the names of women who are occupied in carrying out researches on bacteria.

Valuable, however, as the work may be which has already been accomplished by women in this department of science, it can only be regarded in the light of a happy augury of what is

yet to come, and there surely can be no doubt that when once it is realised how intimate is the connection between these lowly forms of life and some of the most important vital processes which are going on around us in our daily life, more women will be attracted towards this fascinating study of bacteria.

Women have perhaps gained something by waiting, for the farther we advance, the more we become aware of the many pitfalls which beset the path of the unwary investigator. For example, take the so-called typhoid bacillus: when the existence of this famous individual was first announced by Eberth, now nearly twenty years ago, it was accepted and respected as the *fons et origo* of typhoid fever, and its identification appeared to offer no difficulty whatever. Now, however, we know that there are many other bacilli which so closely resemble it, that its separate diagnosis has become a most difficult task, and elaborate tests are being continually invented and applied to endeavour to determine the claims of these numerous rivals to the distinction of being regarded as the originator of typhoid fever.

But just as in life the race must rise "on stepping-stones of our dead selves," so in scientific work the very mistakes of our predecessors are a vantage ground from which we are enabled to reach yet further, and oftentimes the most brilliant discoveries are made in going over the ground traversed long ago by others who were not permitted to see the truths which lay so near and yet so relentlessly concealed from view.

In conclusion, let one note of warning be sounded: in the so-called exact sciences, such as chemistry, physics, and mathematics, the severe mental training involved in their study largely militates against the temptation to jump at conclusions; bacteriology, however, is not so fortunately situated, and its reputation has at times been not a little imperilled by the hasty interpretation of results which were not fully matured, or justified in leading to conclusions being drawn.

To all workers in science, but especially to those engaged upon bacteriological investigations, the words of Pasteur must appeal with particular force:—

"For the investigator it is the hardest ordeal which he can be asked to face—to believe that he has discovered a great scientific truth, to be possessed with a feverish desire to make it known, and yet to impose silence on himself for days, for weeks, sometimes for years, whilst striving to destroy these very conclusions, and only permitting himself to proclaim his discovery when all the adverse hypotheses have been exhausted."

Women in Botanical Science.

Miss Ethel Sargent (Great Britain).

A COMPLETE account of the botanical work done by women would exceed my limit of time. I may refer to the excellent work done by them in the description of Algae, both from the systematic and, of late years, from the biological standpoint.

In pure science it is difficult to separate the work of women from that of men. It is done under the same conditions and judged by the same standard. We can hardly say that one branch is in itself more suited than another to women, but the necessary conditions of research may be more or less favourable to their pursuit of it.

Among the pure sciences, Botany is perhaps the most easy to pursue. The preliminary training necessary before beginning research is comparatively short. The material is easy to get. In most departments but little apparatus is needed. These points are all favourable when we consider the conditions under which women commonly work.

I cannot conclude without referring to the generous attitude of botanists in general towards women workers, for ease of scientific intercourse is a most important condition of scientific work.

Work of Women in the Biological Sciences.

Mrs. Farquharson, F.R.M.S. (Great Britain).

(Read by Lady Marjorie Gordon.)

I REGRET that illness prevents my having the honour and pleasure of leading the discussion on Biological Science on this memorable occasion. I feel, however, very grateful that I have been permitted to ask the Lady Marjorie Hamilton-Gordon to read my notes in the form of a paper, and she has kindly consented to do so.

Now that so much is being done to help the female sex, and has been done in opening the doors to admit women to gain greater proficiency in science, I feel certain I shall not be misunderstood if I venture to explain that there are a goodly number of women who crave for still higher privileges.

There are at least three Societies, namely, The Royal, The Linnean, and the Royal Microscopical which will not permit entrance to full fellowship of any female! I say *full* fellowship, because the latter Society (the Royal Microscopical) permits women to compete for election on exactly the same terms as a man, but if duly elected, women may not have the benefit of attending the meetings on account of their sex!

The Royal and the Linnean Societies have not gone so far even as this, and admit no women to membership or fellowship!

No one who has taken up seriously any biological subject with the view of becoming as perfect in it as possible, will, I am sure, question what the drawback is to be thus debarred from the interchange of thought and ideas which this want of realisation means!

To give a single instance that has come specially under my notice, of the way in which women are prevented from reaching the summit of achievement in science, I may mention that during the time I was bringing out a work on British Ferns, it was of the utmost importance to me to have access to the Herbarium of Linnæus as well as to hear Cryptogamic discussions at the meetings of this great centre of Biological Science. I applied to the Linnean Society, but alas! although I was told my election would have been easily carried, it could not be on account of my sex!

Time will not permit of my giving further instances, although those I could relate are many and varied. In the case of the Royal Microscopical Society, to judge by its Transactions, the trial seems more oppressive than a refusal of fellowship would imply, on account of each meeting being of the deepest interest to those who, the more they dip into the vast arena of Science as applied to Biology, in its ever-increasing wonders, the more they wish for power to enlarge that knowledge by co-operation and interchange of thought.

I would not for a moment ask that such centres of advanced science should open their doors to all women, but I do plead, and on behalf of fellow-sufferers, that graduates of any college, authoresses, or those women who have worked up to any given standard should not be debarred from the said coveted advantages solely on account of their sex.

DISCUSSION.

Miss Grace Stebbing said she desired to make a few remarks on the paper on geology, which was her own special subject. The paper in question reminded her of the cow which gave a pail of beautiful milk and then kicked it over, and of the farmer who advised his son not to marry for money, but to "marry where money is." Here was the earth, and they were called upon to discover some of its problems. Why bridges fell down and killed workmen. Often the contractors knew why these things occurred; and she desired to see the men themselves educated, and the women too, who would explain to their sons the causes of these disasters which so often resulted from an inaccurate knowledge of geological conditions. Geology should be the foundation of all the sciences. To tell women that they must take up geology and yet not make money was a mistake. Everybody must make money, and even women could keep this thought in mind when studying geology. Nobody thought of saying to men, "Learn Greek and Latin, and so forth, and then work for the love of the thing." But from her own experience there seemed to be a pretty prevalent notion that women had no need to study geology, and this idea she wished to combat. On three occasions in her life she had tried to get lessons in geology which should be of practical utility to her. When she told one lady professor that she wished to know, for example, what geological arrangement was responsible for her having rheumatism in one district and not in another, or what influenced the growth of the flowers in her garden, and many more useful scientific questions, she was told that geology of that sort was not for women.

Mrs. Charles Mallett, after referring to the interesting papers read, especially that of Mrs. Frankland, pointed out that the science of bacteriology, in which she was specially interested, was still in its earliest infancy, and when they spoke of it to women they required to use even stronger words than in speaking of any other science. For it was already, although only just born, in a state of transition. As one great savant had said, "the conclusions of yesterday are falsified by the results of to-day." In bacteriology they were playing with a science which had a double edge. It led them to results which were continually being falsified. High medical opinion warned them from accepting those results as final. An example of this was found in the result of recent experiments in bacterial

tuberculosis through milk drinking. This experiment showed that out of 45 per cent, of tuberculosis in cows there was only one in the children who drank their milk. Then, some bacilli which had been considered most mischievous were in reality quite harmless, and in some cases even beneficial. But for the presence of certain bacilli in certain wounds the wounds would not heal. This on the authority of Drs. Stoker and Bantock. Bacteriology was a subject, then, which was connected with the deepest feelings and desires of both men and women. A Viennese doctor who went to Bombay at the time of the plague, and who believed he had discovered a valuable bacillus for the purpose of inoculation, refused on his dying bed to be inoculated with his own discovery, declaring he no longer believed in the prophylactic. The speaker concluded by referring to the inoculatory experiments on living animals—experiments which, she said, wounded their conscientiousness.

Mr. Richard S. Wood said he desired to make a protest against what had been said about bacteriology. All science was true and beautiful. One speaker had spoken of the equality of men and women in science; he considered that women were in many respects superior to men. He also earnestly desired to enter a protest against the cruel inoculation of living animals, and quoting as an instance of what he meant the experiments on cats' eyes, which kept living cats in torture for several days.

Miss Klumpke, in replying on the debate, said: There is one point which I should like to correct before we separate, the one concerning Caroline Herschel's incapacity of making a livelihood. Caroline Herschel was far too modest for herself, and too generous for her brother; that statement made in her diary and repeated by Mrs. McKillop cannot be considered impartial. There exists a letter by Sir John Herschel saying that Caroline would have been able to make her living over and over again. We want many women like Caroline Herschel willing to be guided, able to benefit science and humanity.

THE DRAMA.

THE DRAMA AS A FIELD FOR WOMEN.

LARGE HALL, ST. MARTIN'S TOWN HALL,

THURSDAY, JUNE 29, AFTERNOON.

MRS KENDAL (Great Britain) in the chair.

Mrs. Kendal, who presided, said that in 1884 she was requested by Sir Richard Temple to read a paper on the drama at the Social Science Congress in Berlin. She was flattered at the thought that Sir Richard saw the wisdom of discussing the subject, and on re-reading her paper a few evenings ago she saw very little to alter in what she then said, except to add that her profession had achieved much progress since 1884. The ladies who would read papers were desirous of giving a helping hand to their sisters in the discussion of the burning question of the day, "Is the drama a field for women?"

Before proceeding further, she asked them to pause for a moment in order to pay silent respect to the memory of four sisters of the dramatic art, namely, Helen Faucit, Mrs. Keeley, Charlotte Saunders, and Rose Leclercq. Those women were unique exponents of the art, and examples of women that could be respected and loved and followed. Let us then give a few seconds' silence as a token of our respect, reverence, and love for these noble women. . . . Proceeding, Mrs. Kendal said that to speak of acting was most difficult. High authorities even were at variance on the subject. One had said that the perfect art of acting was to appear quite natural, and yet be acting all the time. Another authority declared that acting

was all impulse. Who should decide, then, when actors disagreed? She ventured to think that real art was born in adversity. They all knew that an empty stomach made an active brain. Strength of purpose and simplicity must be included in the consummation of the art of acting. But the burning question was, "Is the stage a profession for women?" Now women were in some respects like nature: they liked to do things thoroughly. A great woman writer had said that this was a beautiful world, and that it was a sin to disgrace it with things which were badly done. The stage was a great test for all natures. The woman writer already alluded to had also told them that it was hard to keep straight in a world which was so round. She ventured to think, however, that the drama offered a suitable field for women's energies. They were now going to listen to the words of wisdom, knowledge, and experience of Miss Geneviève Ward, who was protected by those spread wings of the eagle covered over with the stars and stripes; who was familiar with the traditions of the stage and of the literature of both Italy and America. Mrs. Kendal closed her attractive and eloquent address with the following words:—

"This life of ours is a play,
In which our cues are quite uncertain;
And few and far between are they,
Ere from the earth they pass away,
Are called before the curtain."

The Drama as a Field for Women.

Miss Geneviève Ward (United States).

"Is the stage a career for women?"

The question answers itself. Numbers of women have found, and are finding, an honourable place in the world, and a means of livelihood in the practice of the dramatic art.

That it is not a career for *all* women should go without saying. Yet in view of the failures—far more in numbers than the successes—it may be well to give a moment to the consideration of the essential qualifications for success upon the stage.

First in the list must be placed *soundness, mental and physical, good health*, upon which all the rest depends, and which admits of the unremitting labour necessary for the exercise and de-

velopment of every separate part of the human organism, particularly the breathing apparatus, upon whose perfect condition and proper use depend the tone, the power, and the quality of the voice.

Next to good health in importance comes good looks. It may be said that one thing is very largely the result of the other ; and this is to a certain extent true. At any rate it is acknowledged that the larger life of to-day, the wider interests and fresh air freedom, have already affected favourably both the health and appearance of women. The young woman of to-day is taller, more vigorous, and has better command of herself and her powers than the young woman who preceded her. If you are inclined to discredit this statement, let me refer you to the young man of the present day after he has been swept by her through three valses in succession, or thoroughly beaten at tennis.

Other essential qualifications in the dramatic beginner are *quick intelligence, good memory, good temper, and a faculty for work*. An idle, ailing, complaining, nervous (another name for bad-tempered) woman is of little use anywhere, but she is especially valueless upon the stage, where continuous effort and untiring industry are necessary to the gaining and keeping every inch of the ground won. Such women are incapable of continuous effort, and equally incapable of that identification with the thoughts, feelings, and emotions of others which is the first principle of dramatic art.

Personal beauty sometimes makes a brief success with little else to build upon, but personal plainness never, unless the dramatic aspirant possess genius, or that potent force which we somewhat vaguely call "charm," but which really involves the possession of many gifts and attributes. That temptation must be inseparable from a profession in which personal loveliness exerts such commanding influence is obvious, but the possession of beauty is less a source of danger than might be supposed. Vanity without safeguards finds its way to perdition more rapidly than vanity which has occupation outside of itself, and acquires a certain amount of self-respect with the power of earning a livelihood.

A more common danger assails the young woman of tastes and so-called "ideals" without much real ability. This young person takes herself too seriously ; her work, whatever it is, not seriously enough. Every little while we hear of the stage being "elevated" or "honoured" by the advent or acquisition of some one or other to its ranks. "Sweet are the uses of

advertisement," and the advent of such a newcomer is usually heralded by a shower of paragraphs. But paper stepping-stones are of little avail. Success in any walk of life must be won by work. Work honours those who fit themselves to perform it worthily. It cannot be honoured by the worker, for it is in itself an instrument of progressive regeneration as well as development, and the divinely appointed means by which civilisation has been made possible. There is no higher privilege in this world than to be a good worker in any chosen field.

If I have laid stress upon personal beauty as an element of success upon the stage, it has not been with any intention of discrediting other important qualifications. I know of no career open to women which presents so broad a field for the exercise of cultivated power in almost every direction as that of the stage. To achieve the higher successes, the stage aspirant must be a student of art and history. The very alphabet of her profession is freedom and grace of movement, a mode of speech modelled upon the best authorities, a controlled manner only acquired by a rigorous system of self-government—a kind of Home Rule which every one might practise to advantage.

An eminent member of the dramatic profession says "the stage demands industry, imagination, self-control, wide perception, a fine and cultivated taste, and even some of the poetic faculty." It demands also thorough equipment and readiness of resource. The actress never knows what shape the next demand upon her will take. It may carry her back centuries into the past or it may compel her to anticipate the future.

It is not merely lines put into her mouth by the author that she must commit to memory. She must imagine herself princess or peasant, surrounded by natural environment, thinking the thoughts, living the life of a time, and a woman, as remote perhaps from her sympathies as from her ordinary perspective. "How can you play such a part?"—as, for example, an unscrupulous adventuress—is asked of an actress who in private life is known as kind, generous, and candid beyond the average.

"Well," she might reply, "that is where art comes in." If a painter could only paint *himself* his subjects would soon be exhausted. The art of the actress consists in projecting an individuality not her own upon the consciousness of her audience. The words of the author of the play are her pig-

ments, and all her art cannot save the picture if he or she has not known how to choose and use them in a real, yet picturesque, manner.

This makes the relation between the author and the artist very close. The artist puts the *life* into a creation which would otherwise find no medium but cold type. But if the artist sometimes makes of the part a living, breathing reality, the play sometimes creates the artist.

The studies, or sketches of real or imaginary character which often appear in the lighter order of plays, not infrequently find representation so striking, so apt, as to touch with a sense of fellow-feeling the whole world of playgoers, and invest the man or woman who gives it with personality as distinct as if it were their own. Close observation, familiarity with some real character closely allied to the imaginary being to be represented, doubtless contribute in a marked degree to success; but that the artist is sometimes the creator of a new type cannot be denied, and this has often led to the making (out of some comparatively unimportant character sketch) of a living picture, memorable, startling, and vivid in its truth and force.

And who shall say how large a share of the success of the author is not due on such an occasion to the imperious inspiration that led the artist to step beyond allotted bounds. Understand me, I do not refer to the irrepressible efforts of the popular low comedian, though gagging is sometimes the short road to success upon the modern stage, and we are not here to quarrel with it. Even the "freaks," I beg pardon "prodigies," have their uses and find a paying public, which is much better than setting up in business as anarchists, or "pretenders" to old titles or new fortunes. There is no illusion about these common forms of stage representation, and only the drill of the stage manager is required as preparation, beyond that of an appearance, or trick of manner that suits the part. The art of the dramatic artist begins when the illusions are created that change the actors' personality to one of a quite different type. Examples of this dual personality may be cited in the cases of Sir Henry Irving's Lesurques and Dubosc in the "Lyons Mail"; of Mary Anderson's Hermione the queen, and the shepherdess nymph Perdita in "A Winter's Tale," and in the difference as strikingly maintained by Ellen Terry between Marguerite and Beatrice, as by Mrs. Kendal between Black-eyed Susan and Miss Blossom.

You will see that in considering the Drama as a field for

women, I am presenting it as an art, not as an arena for tricks, and the mere display of fine clothes. These no doubt have their audience, but it is a fleeting and fluctuating one; and as it does not create permanent results is not worth serious attention.

Naturally, however, there are many stages between higher and lower degrees of any profession, and there are a vast number of actresses who, without even aspiring to the higher reaches of the drama, do faithful, conscientious work; and make a livelihood not only for themselves, but for others. To quote our honourable chairwoman, "The Drama is a *field*, not a *pasture*." It is a field which yields good returns for the ability and industry put into it; but those who expect to graze for ever, without tilling the soil, will soon come to the end of their resources.

The path of the neophyte is not always strewn with roses. The surroundings are often unpleasant, sometimes dangerous. Progress is frequently slow and discouraging. But to the earnest student and determined worker, not handicapped by the absence of essential qualifications, the rewards are sweet and adequate.

To the woman who must earn her living, and possesses the requisite personal and mental attributes, there is no field more hopeful, or whose prizes are so equally shared by men and women.

The competition is terrible; but perseverance in the right direction will accomplish all but the impossible; and a moderate success is always within reach of the persistent and painstaking worker.

But it should always be remembered that a noble profession must be treated nobly; that it cannot be made a refuge for the incompetent. This has been largely the cause of the low status of women as compared with that of men, in nearly all the fields in which there is joint occupation. Women thrown on their own resources, unprepared, and unfitted for any vocation where serious training is required, have been frequent drags upon the progress of really gifted and earnest dramatic aspirants, and have lowered the standard of their work.

This is, however, becoming less and less the case as the field is more and more occupied by young educated women who make deliberate choice of the stage as a career, and bend all their efforts towards fitting themselves to play a worthy part upon it. Not until women cease to regard their work as incidental, and take it up as something that is to ennoble them

as women, will they get out of any field all that it is capable of yielding for them. As our Shakespeare says—

“ Experience is by industry achieved ;
And perfected by the swift course of time.”

Mrs. Beerbohm Tree came forward (as the announced reader of the second paper) and explained that she merely wished to say she could not take her part in the proceedings. However, Miss Clo. Graves had kindly consented to replace her, and she was sure that that lady would speak far more ably than she (Mrs. Tree) could have hoped to do.

Miss Clo. Graves.

MINE is the herald's office. In the place
Of one endowed with greater gift and grace,
I rise upon the order of the Chair,
The opening of this session to declare.

Ere rhetoricians subtler and more skilled
Shall speak of woman's prowess in the field
Of Art Dramatic (for our theme is this),
Step back with me across the centuries.
See the Globe playhouse in Queen Bess's age ;
The flag is hoisted—rushes strew the stage ;
Tobacco-drinking gallants perch on stools ;
The sky-roofed pit is packed with wise and fools,
With knavish and with honest. As to-day,
The verdict of the groundlings makes the play,
And this on which such eager hopes are set
Is *Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet* !
See, Chorus enters, and the play begins.
The board announces first and second scenes ;
With expectation the throng'd house is stirr'd,
For Juliet makes her entrance in the third.
Nurse calls her “ lady-bird.” A wait, a hum
Of consternation,—Juliet does not come !
Behind the scenes Alleyn or Burbage raves,
The stage must wait, forsooth ! whilst Juliet shaves.
Boys *will* grow men ; and that bold, bristling chin
Which marks the hero mars the heroine !

Did the grey eye that burned with mystic glow
Beneath the imperial dome of Shakespeare's brow

Behold with prescient vision days in store,
When the pert page should squeak and strut no more?
When woman—once the mark for ribald rage,
Pelted with pippins from the public stage,
Deafened with yells from Puritanic throats,
Should prove her claim to her own petticoats,
Clutch her bright crown from brows effeminate,
Demand her sceptre and assume her state;
Thenceforth to have, and hold, and yield to no man
Her immemorial right to play the Woman?

O! since the first faint meteoric light
Of woman's genius shot athwart the night,
What stars have risen in the dramatic skies,
What radiant planets have enthralled men's eyes,
What fiery comets dazzled ere they sped!
But though we mourn the glories that have fled,
Our heavens hold their shining galaxies,
And there were never greater days than these,

Nor greater names, deny it an you will.
What! does not Ellen Terry rule us still
By that resistless charm that grows with years;
And Margaret Kendal, queen of smiles and tears?
Do we not own the witchery divine
Of Ada Rehan's peerless Katharine?
And are we proof against the magic spell
That Bernhardt, ay! and Dusé, wield so well?
For Art's great daughters own no clime or clan:
They are the World's—born cosmopolitan!
Wherever Destiny may bid them roam
New kinsfolk rise up, crying "Welcome home!"

Speed on, old Time! The gilded laurel shed
From fallen temples decks some younger head!
The purple mantle drops from shoulders worn
To grace the state of genius later born.
Thus shall it be until the earth-play ends,
And the dark curtain on the scene descends.
But, till that closing of life's final page,
With plectrum on the heart-strings of the age,
The player woman, once despised, shall stand
A power for good, a glory to the land,
And when the world its Maker shall confront,

And men and women for their gifts account,
Shall she not cry—

“ My talent, Lord, behold
Increas'd, not seven, but a millionfold.
Let it atone for errors that were mine.
Thy earthly creature held Thy gift divine ! ”
And pass on, honoured, having played her part,
A radiant spirit, crowned with deathless Art !

The Stage as a Profession for Women in Germany.

Fratllein Nina Mardon (Germany).

It is a remarkable circumstance that simultaneously with the birth of dramatic art in Germany, women occupied a prominent position in the profession, while in England, despite the fact that the art there had attained a high standing quite a century earlier (thanks to Shakespeare), actresses were unknown, all the female characters being sustained by men. When in the year 1656 the first English actress, Miss Collman, made her *début*, she was looked upon as a disgrace to her sex, and deemed unfit to mix with respectable society.

In Germany, scarcely thirty years later, although the histrionic art as a profession was still in its infancy, the successful management of one of its earliest touring companies was in the hands of a woman, Anna Catherine Velthen by name, and that for a period of twenty-five consecutive years.

This is by no means an exceptional case, many others having been chronicled ; indeed, from the very inception of dramatic art in Germany woman there has assumed a leading rôle in that sphere of usefulness.

About the beginning of the eighteenth century the stage had reached its lowest level, the production of vulgar harlequinades and so-called improvisations clearly enough indicating the depraved taste of contemporaneous audiences.

It was left to a woman to bring about the reformation of the stage at that time, Caroline Friedericke Neuberin, who, during her management in 1737, burnt in effigy the harlequin on the Leipzig stage, thus putting a formal end to these vulgar representations.

She inaugurated a new era, placing upon the boards pieces derived from the best literary sources of the period, chiefly translations from the French classics. Not only did she concentrate her genius upon purging the representations of much that was in bad taste, but her influence, moreover, was most powerful in raising the profession to a higher moral standard than that to which it had hitherto attained; and for this her memory is still held in high veneration by the profession in Germany.

Passing through the different phases of development of the German stage up to the present time, we find that here woman has constantly distinguished herself.

From the very beginning she has shown herself to possess equal capacity to that of man; yet here—as everywhere—we meet the universal principle, that woman's labour yields lower remuneration than man's. The same regulations apply to the entire *personnel* of all German theatres, and I must here say a few words on the organisation of the profession in Germany, where the theatre is a municipal institution.

During the second half of last century the authorities, recognising the educational influence of the stage, established a system of "permanent" theatres—"permanent" in the financial sense that the State endowed them with an annual subsidy.

To-day every town in Germany which boasts of say 8,000 to 10,000 inhabitants possesses its permanent theatre, which is as much one of its regular institutions as either its schools or churches. The theatre is built and maintained at the risk of the municipality, who also decides the choice of manager. Beyond these boundaries, however, the influence of the State does not extend.

On the other hand, the profession *per se* is hemmed in by its own hard-and-fast rules and regulations; it is, so to say, doubly trammelled—on the one hand by the Managers' Union, on the other hand by a similar association existing among its members.

Between the Scylla and Charybdis of the limits prescribed by these two corporate bodies the profession moves and has its being.

That these limits should be much narrower for the actress, as compared with those imposed upon the actor, is strictly in accordance with our entire social system. This is clearly demonstrated by the clauses of the theatrical contract, the same form of contract applying to all stages throughout the land.

Aside from the fact that the average salary which an actress receives is considerably less than that paid to an actor—as I presume it is also in England—she is bound under a special clause in her contract to provide *all* necessary stage costumes *at her own cost*, while the actor is provided by the management with all historical stage costumes and merely has to find his modern habiliments. When it is borne in mind that the repertory of a German stage is extremely varied, a different piece being put on almost every night, as it used to be in England in the old stock company days, the crying injustice of the rule will be perceptible at once, and it is needless to say that this stipulation has been the cause of untold shame and distress among the female members of the profession.

While the financially successful actress is honoured and *fêted*, her poorer sisters have a hard battle to wage against poverty, hunger, and the temptations which follow in their wake as the natural effects of the conditions of labour under which they are condemned to suffer in Germany.

Another paragraph in the German theatre contract, equally to be deprecated, is the so-called “marriage-clause.” Should an actress marry without giving notice to the management, she is liable to be discharged *at once*; should she declare her intention of marrying, she renders herself liable to be dismissed at a week’s notice, but the clause in question does not allow *her* the option of terminating *her* engagement, which, according to German customs, may have been entered into for say three, five, or ten years.

In the existing state of affairs, the drama as a field for women in Germany teems with obstacles and difficulties which seem the more impossible to overcome as the profession is practically debarred from appealing to the civil Courts of Justice, being obliged by rule to appeal first to its own Court of Arbitration, and only in the case of this court declaring itself incompetent to arrive at a decision is the actor or actress free to call into motion the laws of his or of her country.

That the rights of the actress are ignored may be traced to the fact that she is debarred by the restriction placed upon her sex from having a voice in the management of the institution of which she is a member.

It is true that on the occasion of conventions she enjoys the apparent privilege of recording her vote for the delegate whom she favours; but when it is remembered that this delegate must be of the sterner sex, no woman being eligible, it

is quite apparent that her vote becomes nugatory. Since the very birth of dramatic art in Germany, the actress—as I have striven to show—has stood on the same platform as her male colleague, in so far as capacity, duties, and interests are concerned; she is in every way competent to speak with the same authority as the men with whom she is associated, but until her interests are represented by delegates of her own sex *she must submit to be ruled* by the opinions and decisions of others.

The most tangible reason for the underpayment of women's labour in this profession is to be traced to material and economic grounds—the inexorable laws of demand and supply. The profession is overcrowded, and the cause is not far to seek. So few intellectual professions are open to women that the rush to these fields of labour is naturally very great, hence the congestion.

A glorious future expands before the Women's Rights movement in the direction of ameliorating this condition of things, through continued and efficient activity, to the end that every year fresh spheres of usefulness for women be conquered, so that eventually the current will divide, with the result that that which has been accomplished for the masses will then benefit each individual.

Mme. Marya L. Chélega, Foundress of the Féministe Théâtre and Professor at the New University, Brussels.

LE théâtre est non seulement un lieu de distraction, mais une tribune, d'où les bonnes ou les mauvaises influences agissent sur l'esprit du public. Bien que la renaissance du théâtre est due surtout à une femme, la religieuse allemande Krosorta, qui composa des spectacles donnés au couvent, mais devant un nombreux public, l'art dramatique est devenue comme un monopole des auteurs masculins, qui, pour la plupart s'en servirent pour exposer tous les défauts, vices ridicules et iniquités de la femme. Parfois ils avaient raison, car les femmes, tout comme les hommes d'ailleurs, sont loin d'être parfaites, mais souvent aussi, messieurs les auteurs dramatiques ont fait faire à leurs héroïnes au théâtre des déclarations de foi, qu'aucune femme n'aurait approuvé comme l'expression juste de ce sentiment.

J'affirme, malgré mon respect pour le génie de Shakespeare, que la tirade de la Mégère Apprivoisée, de l'épouse adorant son

mari parcequ'il l'a brutalisée, n'est pas sincère ; et que la fameuse phrase lancée par Molière "et s'il me plaît d'être battue?" est de la pure invention masculine, car aucune femme au monde n'aime pas à recevoir des coups. Or, je crois qu'il serait bon que les femmes viennent plus souvent expliquer au théâtre leur psychologie et leurs impressions. Les auteurs dramatiques, surtout de nos jours, écrivent beaucoup de pièces à tendances sociales, et défendent des thèses en tous genres. Beaucoup de questions du socialisme, du féminisme, sont exposées au théâtre moderne par les hommes. Or, il me semble que les femmes devraient aussi user du même moyen, afin de raconter leur état d'âme, et leurs vœux, plus exactement que ne le font les auteurs masculins. Or, sur le théâtre on parle de la femme, mais ce n'est pas la femme qui parle.

Les difficultés d'aborder cette tribune, sont pour les femmes auteurs dramatiques presque insurmontables. La femme artiste au théâtre a des conditions très pénibles à accepter, mais on a besoin de son concours ; tandis que de la femme auteur les directeurs ne se soucient point, et ils la repoussent carrément.

C'est pourquoi, j'ai créé, il y a deux ans, à Paris, un théâtre féministe international, où on ne représentait que des pièces écrites par les femmes. Il a obtenu un grand succès, la critique la plus sérieuse a dû reconnaître que les femmes sont capables d'écrire pour le théâtre, et plusieurs auteurs dramatiques féminins donnèrent là une preuve d'un talent vigoureux, et ont défendu des thèses au point de vue sincèrement féminin. J'avais espéré que ce théâtre pourrait ouvrir aux femmes par le succès les portes des théâtres réguliers ; j'avais espéré aussi que dans ce théâtre, essentiellement honnête, les jeunes débutantes pourraient se faire connaître, et arriver ainsi à la situation artistique sans passer par les tribulations habituelles. J'avais foi aussi que les femmes comprendraient l'importance de cette œuvre, et qu'elles sauraient se grouper autour de cette artistique tribune. Cette espérance n'a été réalisée qu'à moitié. Le théâtre féministe a eu quelques représentations très brillantes, mais au moment où la presse et le public ont reconnu son utilité il a dû fermer ses portes car il était une trop lourde charge à porter, pour une seule femme.

Cependant, la brèche est faite, et n'ayant pas abandonné l'idée de ce théâtre que je crois un moyen de réformer l'opinion sur maintes questions concernant la femme, je fais le vœu que

dans chaque pays une tribune artistique soit créée sous le titre de théâtre Féministe accessible aux femmes.

DISCUSSION.

Miss Hallie Quin Brown rose and offered some remarks upon the different kinds of elocution; she laid stress upon the necessity for platform orators putting plenty of energy into their voice. In stage elocution, where a woman might be a queen with a crown on her head or a peasant in a field, a woman must strive to *impersonate* the character she represented. In a ringing voice, Miss Brown declared that the woman on the stage must be another person indeed. What actors did, female aspirants on the stage must also do. The actress must forget herself, throw her soul into the subject, and give it to the people.

The **Chairman** again inquired if any lady desired to speak, but received no response. "What!" added Mrs. Kendal, humorously, "are there no dramatic aspirants in the room? Or do you all want to go on the stage?"

Mrs. Kendal then announced that a telegram had been received from Miss Janet Achurch, who was also to have read a paper, regretting her inability to be present.

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